JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI 1933–1947

A Selection of Documents

Edited by Irene Eber

ARCHIVE OF JEWISH HISTORY AND CULTURE VOLUME 3

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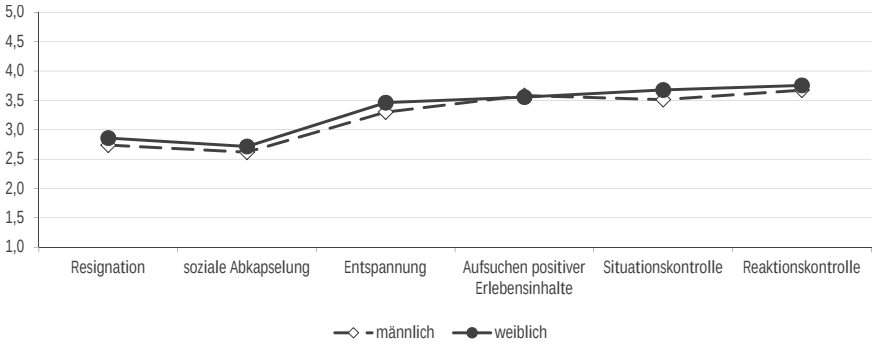
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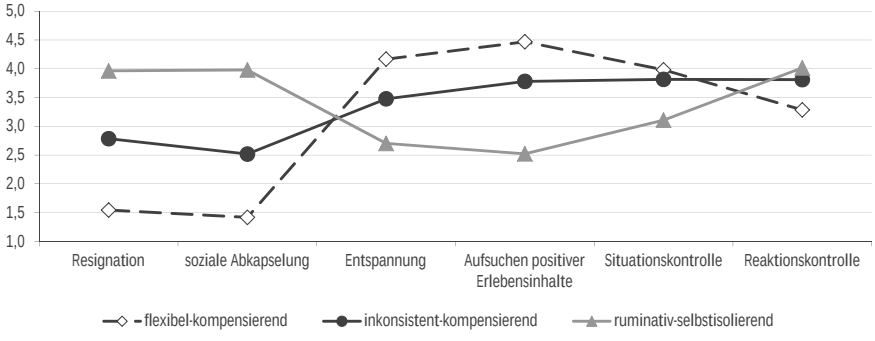
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better state than the Polish refugees fleeing from *blitzkrieg* in war-torn Poland. As a result, the former were able to secure a better economic foothold in Shanghai where they arrived before the European war than the latter who came here with few worldly possessions about a year ago.

The Odyssey of the Polish refugees was: Warsaw-Vilno-Kobe-Shanghai. A few of them came to Shanghai by ship from Vladivostok, but the majority stayed in Kobe for over a year where they were cared for by the Jewish Committee. The funds for their upkeep were provided by "Joint" (American Joint Distribution Committee). Only about 10 % of the Polish refugees were financially independent, the bulk being completely destitute and in bad health as a result of their trials.

None of them regarded Shanghai as the terminus of their wanderings. Some actually possessed vises [sic] to Palestine, U.S.A. and Australia and only waited for a chance to get passage; others hoped to get vises or landing permits.

When they arrived in Japan, their transit vises were good for only two weeks, but the Japanese Government, in special consideration of their plight, actually extended their stay for a year.

Thereafter Jewish organizations in America and other emigration centers were trying hard to secure their admittance.

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In March 1941 two representatives of the Polich [sic] refugees – Messrs. Szupakievich[123] [sic] and Warhaftig – came to Shanghai from Kobe and approached the Ashkenazi community with a request to appoint a Committee for receiving Polish refugees who were shortly to come here from Japan. Thus the Committee of 30 came into existence under the name of "Eastjewcom" (Committee for Assistance to Jews from Eastern Europe), and when the first batch of refugees arrived here a month later Eastjewcom arranged accommodation and relief. By arrangement with "Joint," Eastjewcom acted as a subsidiary organization to the Committee for Assistance to Emigrants from Central Europe which was in charge of relief to German refugees, as the latter received funds from "Joint" and distributed relief also among Polish refugees. Very soon, however, the scope of activities of Eastjewcom outgrew the preliminary arrangement. Its appeals to members of the Ashkenazi community met with an especial response because the Russian Jews were deeply moved by the feeling of kinship with the Polish refugees who spoke their language and often came from the same home towns. They expressed great willingness to assist, and, as a result, Eastjewcom was able to offer substantial additional relief.

123 This was Szczupakiewicz.

During one year of unremitting activity Eastjewcom has set a new standard of Jewish relief work in Shanghai based exclusively upon the sense of individual responsibility of each member for the welfare of the others. And at the decisive moment when the Pacific War broke out and help from "Joint" was discontinued, it did not hesitate to take upon itself complete responsibility for a few hundred human lifes [sic]. Hostels were set, all efforts to find employment for the refugees were made, and soup-kitchens established with the aid of refugees where they now get hot meals twice a day. The average cost of lunch is between $ 0.75 and $ 1.– (without bread). Dinner of one course costs 0.75.

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Now as to the refugees themselves. Whom do they represent socially, culturaly [sic], mentally? In what measure do they influence local life and how does local life influence them? Whet [sic] contact have they established with the local Jewish communities?

The most numerous socially-distinctive group of the refugees are the Rabbi-students and graduates of the religious colleges, who number about 300. Most of them belong to the world famous "Mirer Eshiboth" [sic] established in 1817 and were evacuated from Poland to be taken to America. Their sojourn in Shanghai gave impetus to local religious life, and some Rabbis proved themselves good speakers on the lecture platform.

The second largest social group is represented by a group of social workers who number about 80 persons.

The third group is composed of writers and journalists who number about 30 people. They all contribute to local cultural life both by writing and lecturing, and their cultural influence is quite significant.

The remaining few hundred persons represent a hetenogenous [sic] crowd, among whom we find predominantly intellectuals, social workers and merchants. Special mention must be made of a few artists of distinction who have stimulated theatrical and musical activity of the local Jewish community.

So much for the influence which the newcomers have had upon our life. Now as to what they have gained from us. It remains an open question as to whether the balance is in our favour.

Due to war-time conditions prevailing in Shanghai very few of the refugees have found employment. Some were given paid jobs in Jewish organizations. Some again have succeeded in trade and have established business relations with Russian and German Jews. Polish artists have won an enviable reputation in both Ashkenazi and German Jewish communities, while journalists have established contact with other Ashkenazi communities in Eastern Asia.

Emotionally speaking, Polish refugees have deeply associated themselves with the life of the Ashkenazi community. In many ways they proved an inspiration and, undoubtedly, a cultural asset. And if they feel themselves indebted to the Russian Jews for the material assistance they are rendering them, the question arises as to how to estimate the extent of their own contribution. This is difficult to estimate, probably, because it is beyond estimation.

Chapter 4
Wartime Shanghai: Social and Economic Institutions, 1939–1945

Introduction

How many refugees ultimately arrived in Shanghai by mid-1941, when Germany invaded Soviet Russia and closed the land route? Was it 18,000, or as many as 20,000, as some sources claim? Unfortunately, no accurate numbers can be established, and perhaps the best one can say is that in Shanghai were no fewer than 18,000 Central European refugees and no more than 20,000.[1] Still, that is a considerable number, especially if it is remembered that the European refugees came to a city inundated by Chinese refugees who had arrived only a short time earlier. Due to the recent Undeclared War between China and Japan, Hongkou, moreover, where most came to live, had been grievously damaged.

The Jewish Refugees had come from relatively pampered middle-class backgrounds, and in comparison the new conditions were harsh and often unbearable. Upon arrival, most of them stopped first at the refugee camps, actually crowded dormitory accommodations with communal dining facilities that served often unpalatable food and offered minimal or no privacy. Many tried to leave, renting rooms wherever they could. But many were stuck, either for lack of funds, or due to a psychic and physical incapacity to continue the struggle. Taking this into consideration, the accomplishments of a relatively small group of people against all odds are even more admirable. The extent to which newcomers threw themselves into creating a semblance of a familiar way of life is well summarized by Heinz Ganther, even if per-

1 A number of sources are available, although none of these help in giving conclusive numbers. Besides the above-mentioned Emigranten Adressbuch and List of Foreigners, there is a list prepared in 1941 by one of the police precincts in the French Concession, the List of German Refugees Arrived in Shanghai Since 1937, Registration Made by Zangzou Police Station (YVA, Irene Eber Collection, 078/78A) that lists 935 refugees. In addition, there are partial lists of people who passed away in Shanghai, cf. <http://www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/person_advance_ search.php?SourceId=20780> (July 22, 2016). Partial lists compiled by the AJJDC of Jewish immigrants who left Shanghai after 1945 are at <http://archives.jdc.org/explore-the-archives/searchable-lists.html> (July 22, 2016); a list of immigrants from Poland can be found at <https://www.loc.gov/rr/european/polref/polrefindex.html> (July 22, 2016).

haps somewhat too positively. There were even attempts at providing lighter moments of humor as the refugees tried to laugh at themselves and their troubles.

Two major problems confronted by refugees with children was where to leave toddlers if both parents had to work or to procure food and how to continue the schooling of the older German-speaking children. There were some missionary schools and the well established Shanghai Jewish School which was founded in 1900. But the needs of the refugee children were different, and the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association (SJYA) became their preferred school. Founded by Horace Kadoorie in 1939 – and also known as the Kadoorie School – its teachers were for the most part refugees. In 1941, the Freysinger School, founded by Ismar Freysinger[2] as an elementary and middle school, opened its doors. The school's secular education was augmented by a Jewish-oriented curriculum. In addition there were the several rabbinic schools, the yeshivot, of which the Mir Yeshivah is best known. Scout activities were also available for boys.

For older teenagers and adults there was the ORT vocational school, which served a most important function.[3] Similarly significant was the Gregg School of Business, where young people received office work training under the watchful eye of the tireless Wilhelm Deman. Willy Tonn's[4] Asia Seminar, considered a People's University though it did not grant degrees, was an important intellectual institution. With its staff of sixty lecturers,

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2 Freysinger hailed from Gleiwitz (today Gliwice, Poland) where he taught Hebrew at the Jüdische Volkschule; cf. Anonymous, Gleiwitzer Nachrichten, in: Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für Oberschlesien, May 13, 1937, 6.

3 The aid organization ORT, short for Obshchestvo Remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo Truda sredi yevreev (Society for [the promotion of] manual and agricultural professions among the Jews; later known in English as the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training, or in French as Organisation, Rehabilitation, Travail) was established in St. Petersburg in 1880. It aimed to improve the education and vocational training of Eastern European Jews in order to encourage them to work in industrial and agricultural occupations. ORT's guiding principle was "productivization" and the improvement of the social status of the Jews. Since the interwar period, ORT was also active at the transnational level.

4 Tonn (1902–1957) had studied Asian languages, including Chinese, before he came to China in 1939. He worked for various newspapers and journals in Shanghai, and between 1943 and 1948 he concentrated on the Asia Seminar. He emigrated to Israel in 1949, where he worked for a time with the important philosopher Martin Buber; cf. Messmer, Jewish Wayfarers, 202; 182–187. His autobiography, articles, and other written material by him are available at the LBI, Willy Tonn Collection, AR 7259 (folder 1).

the Asia Seminar was attended by as many as 750 persons during the war years.[5]

Another major priority was hospitals. Epidemics of various kinds required isolation wards to prevent their spreading. Fortunately, the many physicians among the refugees were able to supply medical services, even if medicines were often in short supply. Several medical journals kept physicians abreast of illnesses and their cures, and also carried occasional articles about Chinese medicine. No doubt the advertisements in these publications were helpful in guiding people to places where medications could be purchased.[6]

These activities by the refugee community with their semblance of normalcy were watched apprehensively by the Japanese authorities, as pointed out in the previous chapter. Then came the spring of 1940 when elections to the SMC were to take place. Traditionally the Japanese had two members on the Council, but they now wanted to increase that number and put up five candidates. Suddenly the refugees seemed useful as voters. Elections were based on the so-called rate payers' principles that are on taxes paid on property. Since most of the refugees had come to reside in Hongkou where many met the rate payers' requirement, they became a valuable pool of voters.

When the Japanese, moreover, promised to issue Permits to relatives in return for votes, it seemed like a foregone conclusion that they would get their five members on the Council.

The foreign community was horrified, as reflected in various headlines in local newspapers, urging the refugees to abstain from voting.[7] Fortunately, the status quo was maintained, and only two candidates were elected. The issue was soon forgotten.

Also, after World War II had broken out in September 1939 and once Italy joined the German war effort in 1940, it became increasingly difficult to leave Europe. The letter from Dr. J. Morgenstern, HIAS representative in Warsaw,

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5 The Asia Seminar operated until 1948; cf. Meng Weiyan, Willy Tonn – The Fighting Scholar of Shanghai, in: Sino-Judaica. Occasional Papers of the Sino-Judaic Institute 2 (1995), 111–128. For Tonn's impressive bibliography on various aspects of Chinese culture cf. Hartmut Walravens, Martin Buber und Willy Tonn und ihre Beiträge zur Kenntnis der chinesischen Literatur, in: Monumenta Serica 42 (1994), 465–481.

6 The *Shanghai Medical Journal* published articles in English, German, and Chinese. There were also the *Journal of the Association of Central European Doctors, Medizinische Monatshefte* and *Mitteilungen der Krankenhilfe des H.A.V. Shanghai*. It is impossible to ascertain how large the circulation of any of these journals was.

7 For example, Refugees Urged to Remain Neutral, in: NCDN (April 4, 1940), 2.

tells the tragic story in one sentence, "Since April 1 [1940] of this year all emigration from the General Government has ceased …"[8] The tragic case of Paula Laufer, who was deported to Riga, and the Spitzer children who didn't manage to leave France for Shanghai despite their parents' efforts, show that by 1940 it was already too late.

The Pacific War in December 1941 came as a shock to many. The devastation expressed in Rose Shoshana Kahan's diary (Documents 88 and 165) was, no doubt, widely felt. However, aside from the invasion of all of Shanghai, there seemed to be no major changes in the refugees' lives throughout 1942. To be sure, Shanghai's deteriorating economy[9] led to enormous hardships in refugee life. Therefore, a great deal of effort during that year was devoted to feeding and caring for the refugees. Laura Margolis's report, written from memory after her internment in 1943, which concludes this chapter, reveals the extreme complications – how to raise funds locally after AJJDC money ceased, on the one hand, and how to manage with the Japanese occupation, on the other, was not simple.

Publicly the outbreak of war was barely mentioned. A brief notice in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* of December 19th merely warned its readers to follow all regulations of the Japanese authorities. "There must be no public discussions on streets and in public conveyances. Calm and discipline are the primary requirements of our time!"[10] But on the surface life continued even if, for example, the flourishing exile press came to a grinding halt and the only papers that remained throughout the war years were the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, edited by Ossi Lewin,[11] the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, edited

8 Letter from Dr. J. Morgenstern to DALJEWCIB, Shanghai, September 6, 1940.

9 Cf. the excellent chapter by Christian Henriot, Shanghai Industries under Japanese Occupation. Bombs, Boom, and Bust (1937–1945), in: Christian Henriot/Wen-hsin Yeh, (eds.), In the Shadow of the Rising Sun. Shanghai under Japanese Occupation, New York 2004, 17–45.

10 "Aufruf," in: Das Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt 25 (December 19, 1941), 1 (see Document 87).

11 Ossi (Osias) Lewin (ca. 1905–1975) hailed from Vienna. He founded the German-English daily *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle – Tageszeitung für die Juden im Fernen Osten*, which appeared from January 1939 until October 1945. Lewin also created the Artist Club association in 1939, which was transformed into the EJAS in the following year, and served as its president.

by Philipp Kohn,[12] and *Nasha zhizn*, with its Yiddish and later English page, ably edited by David Rabinovitch.[13]

Still, most refugee restaurants remained in business and theatrical performances were staged. Rose Shoshana Kahan alone gave eight performances between February and July 1942, whereas a year later she gave only three.[14] The curtailment of performances may have been in part due to the fact that the Jewish Club – a major venue in the French Concession for many Jewish activities – was taken over by the Japanese in November 1942. Aside from other activities, Joni Fein, the gifted poet-painter from Poland, held an exhibition of his paintings in May and June 1942 (Document 153). All this changed at the beginning of 1943 – the subject of the next chapter – when the Japanese ordered stateless Jews segregated into an area of Hongkou, thus establishing the Shanghai Designated Area.

12 The weekly *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* appeared between 1940 and 1945; its subtitle, *Offizielles Organ der Jüdischen Gemeinde* was later changed into *Offizielles Organ der Jüdischen Gemeinde mitteleuropäischer Juden in Shanghai*, and from spring 1945 on it read *For Central European Jews (Mitteleurop. Juden)*. About its editor Kohn, see ch. 8, n. 32.

13 David Rabinovitch (1889–1978) arrived in Shanghai in 1921. He was co-founder of The Jewish Book Publication Society, which published Russian translations of mainly Yiddish books, e.g. by Mendele Moykher Sforim and Sholem Aleichem (see ch. 7, n. 12). He also edited a Russian newspaper he co-founded, *Nasha zhizn* (*Our Life*), "Shanghai's National Independent Democratic Organ of Jewish Thought;" cf. the autobiography of Rabinovitch's daughter Rena Krasno, Strangers Always. A Jewish Family in Wartime Shanghai, Berkeley Calif. 1992, 3–8. The weekly *Nasha zhizn* appeared from May 1941 on, with an additional Yiddish page (titled *Unzer lebn*) and later with an English one as well (*Our Life*).

14 Cf. Chang Shoou-Huey, Jüdische Kultur im chinesischen Exil. Eine Studie zu Rose Shoshana Kahans jiddischem Tagebuch „In Fajer un Flamen," Taiwan 2010, 118 f. About Kahan, see below, n. 202.

Document 67

Heinz Ganther[15]
1942
Published memoir, Drei Jahre Immigration in Shanghai, 1939, 1940, 1941, Shanghai: Modern Times Publishing House, 150 pages (excerpts, pp. 33–37, 47–51, 93–97).
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/42

Abstract
Ganther's book is an excellent first-hand description of the development of large parts of Hongkou. These were composed not only of apartments, but also of many varieties of business enterprises, including restaurants, grocery stores, a lending library, and even a bus company. Religious life, too, flourished in the exile community as did artistic endeavors. Among these, despite the great difficulties involved, theater was especially popular.

[…]

Hongkew

Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Hongkew ging nach ganz anderen Gesichtspunkten vor sich. Man kann ohne Uebertreibung sagen, dass die Immigranten insbesondere den Wayside-Bezirk zu neuem Leben erweckten. Der Aufbau ging hier systematisch vor sich. Am Broadway East gegenueber der Wayside Post, stand die der Cathay Land gehoerende Riesenlane, z.T. durch den Krieg auch stark mitgenommen. Durch Vermittlung des I.C. wurden die Fronthaeuser an Emigranten vermietet, die gleichzeitig z.T. auch Darlehen aus dem Sassoon-Fond bezogen. Sie mussten sich die Haeuser allerdings erst herrichten, und der Besitzer der Cathay Land, Sir Victor Sassoon konnte seine Bewunderung fuer diese Aufbauarbeit nicht verhehlen, als er im Sommer 39 dem Broadway einen Besuch abstattete. Das Café Corso kann fuer sich den Ruhm in Anspruch nehmen, das erste Emigrantencafé Shanghais zu sein. Samulon und Spitzer waren seine ersten Inhaber.[16] Es ging dann in den Besitz von Karl Stier ueber, und wurde unter Assistenz seines Managers Hermann

15 About Ganther, see ch. 3, n. 134.

16 Fred-Hans Samulon (1907–?) was a musician and entertainer from Berlin; cf. Anonymous, Fred-Hans Samulon, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002038> (June 13, 2016). Most persons mentioned by Ganther appear either in the Emigranten Adressbuch, or in the List of Foreigners, or in Michael Philipp, Nicht einmal einen Thespiskarren. Exiltheater in Shanghai 1939–1947, Hamburg 1996.

zum Sportcafé der Immigration. Es folgten „Balsam und Pistiner" – letzter machte sich spaeter in der Muirhead Road selbstaendig – deren Provisionstore und Imbiss-Stube vom Health Department des S.M.C. als ein hygienischer Musterbetrieb bezeichnet wurde. Obwohl man den beiden Gruendern dringend abgeraten hatte, ein derartiges Geschaeft ohne eingehende Kenntnis der besonderen Shanghaier Verhaeltnisse zu eroeffnen, wurde die Initiative belohnt, indem dieser Laden einer der |34| fuehrenden dieser Gegend wurde. Balsam trat spaeter das Geschaeft aus Gesundheitsruecksichten an seinem Bruder ab, der es in das Nebenhaus verlegte. Er selbst hielt sich unter den schwierigsten Umstaenden persoenlicher Natur seinen Laden, und eroeffnete 1941 darin ein elegantes, kultiviertes Café nebst Konditorei. Ein weiterer Provisionstore wurde von Friedeberg und Imber in dieser Gegend aufgemacht. Nach dem Ausscheiden von Imber konnte Friedeberg das Geschaeft nicht mehr allein fuehren und verkaufte das Haus an den Hutmacher Holzblat,[17] der nach anfaenglicher Etablierung in einem Teilladen nun hier sein Geschaeft aufbaute und zu einem Musterunternehmen dieser Branche gestalten konnte, wobei es sich zeigte, dass der von der Pike auf gelernte Fachmann auch hier in Shanghai mit der von ihm ausgefuehrten europaeischen Qualitaetsarbeit in der Lage ist, sich durchzusetzen. Im Januar 39 erhielt Hongkew auch den ersten europaeischen Frisiersalon von dem Wiener Friseurmeister Alexander Fessler. Die fuer damalige Zeiten und hiesige Verhaeltnisse hochmoderne Einrichtung wurde von den Chinesen allgemein bestaunt, von den Emigranten jedoch mit Freuden begruesst. Im Verein mit Frau Fessler und 3 Hilfskraeften begann dieses fachmaennisch geleitete Unternehmen seine Taetigkeit, die bald weitere Modernisierung des Betriebes notwendig machte und spaeter seine Hilfskraefte verdoppeln konnte. Trotz bald entstandener Konkurrenz hat sich dieser erste Emigrantensalon weiter durchgesetzt. Am 1. Februar konnten die Emigranten auch zum ersten Male wieder in altgewohnter Weise speisen, als Hans Schwarz mit einem spaeter wieder ausgeschiedenen Partner die Pforten des „Quick" eroeffnete. Dieses als Restaurant und Imbisstube gefuehrte Unternehmen erfreute sich in kuerzester Zeit der groessten Popularitaet auch bei den Einheimischen, und oft gab dieses stets gut besuchte Lokal ein internationales Bild. Der fleissige Hans Schwarz, stets unterstuetzt von seiner Frau,[18] stellte den Betrieb im Oktober

17 Hatmaker Szlama Holzblat (c. 1896–?) hailed from Warsaw. Since the 1930s he lived with his wife Ruth (1913–?) in Lübeck, where he owned a fashion shop; cf. Bernd Hartwig, Die Dinge lagen damals anders. Ein Bericht über die Hitler-Zeit (1933–1945), Aachen 2002, 55.

18 Lotte (Cohn) Schwarz (1910–2005) was born in Halle. Before she emigrated, she worked for the Hilfsverein in Hannover. In 1938 she married Hans Schwarz, and to-

1940 auf eine Bar unter dem Namen „Esplanade“ um, die somit die intimste Bar des Broadways war und nach ihrer unlaengst erfolgten Uebersiedlung nach dem unteren Teil des Broadway ihren Charakter behalten hat.

Frau Vogel erkannte als Erste, dass die Immigranten nicht allein koerperliche, sondern auch geistige Nahrung brauchten. Sie gab ihre Stellung als Sekretaerin von Paul Komor auf und fing mit ganzen 5 Buechern eine Leihbibliothek an, die heute immerhin die stattliche Zahl von ca. 4000 Baenden zaehlt. Ihr Hauptgeschaeft war eigentlich die Papierhandlung, fuer die ein unbedingtes Beduerfnis vorhanden war. Im August 41 eroeffnete sie eine Filiale in der Kungpingroad, um ihrer ausgedehnten Kundschaft gerecht werden zu koennen. Ein anderes, noch heute bestehendes Immigrantenunternehmen ist der von Springer im Februar 39 gegruendete Schuhladen „Broadway Shoes“. Springer stellt alle bei ihm zum Verkauf gelangenden Schuhe im eigenen Betrieb mit 25 chinesischen Arbeitern her. Als Verkaufspersonal sind ausschliesslich Emigranten beschaeftigt.

|35| Eine Ueberraschung war im Maerz 39 die Ankuendigung der Eroeffnung von „Epa“,[19] ein Name, der vielen aus der alten Heimat eine grosse Vorfreude entlockte.

Konkurrenz hebt das Geschaeft. So spielte es keine Rolle, dass kurz darauf einige Haeuser weiter „Filco“ sich als Universal-Store etablierte, der schon vor der Eroeffnung durch besonders geschmackvolle Schaufenster die Passanten anzog. Das Unternehmen, von F. Laster und L. Inslicht gefuehrt, gibt noch einer Anzahl weiterer Emigranten Verdienstmoeglichkeit in ihrem Betrieb. Als die erste Emigrantenapotheke ist die „Broadway Apotheke“ von den Fachleuten Rosa Feiner und Hugo Reich anzusehen, die nach europaeischer Erfahrung geleitet wird. Der Hygiene diente die Einrichtung der „European Broadway Bath Co.“ Brajisblatt, Kronthal und Waschkanzer[20] richteten eine Badeanstalt nach europaeischem Muster ein in der alle Arten von Baedern verabfolgt wurden. Diese Einrichtung erwies sich angesichts der Primitivitaet vieler Haeuser, in denen eine Badeanlage fehlte, als sehr willkommen. Vor wenigen Wochen wurde das Unternehmen liquidiert und an seiner Stelle ent-

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gether they moved to Berlin. The couple went to Shanghai after Hans's release from Buchenwald in 1938, and ran a coffee shop (the Quick Restaurant) in Hongkou. They emigrated to the United States in 1948; cf. Hochstadt, Exodus, 16–18, 265, passim.

19 Abbreviation for "Einheitspreis-Aktiengesellschaft" (single price stock company); from the late 1920s onward, the EPA department stores were successfully competing in traditional commerce.

20 There is no evidence of this name in Shanghai; however, the Emigranten Adressbuch, 121, mentions the merchant Moses Waschkautzer from Vienna.

standen elegante Verkaufsgeschaefte. Der Broadway erhielt schliesslich noch ein Kurzwarengeschaeft von Abraham, der aber seinen Betrieb bald zu einem Frisiersalon umgestaltete und spaeter mit dem allseitig sehr geschaetzten Damenfriseur Kurt Mosberg teilte.

Die schoene Front, die der Broadway gerade in diesem Teil zeigte, lockte geradezu zur Anlage weiterer gastronomischer Betriebe. Waehrend man sich jedoch anfangs auf den Geschmack und die Beduerfnisse der Immigration einstellte, war man spaeter zur Umstellung gezwungen. Wie einst entstand hier Bar neben Bar. Neben der schon seit Anfang des Jahres bestehenden „Carioca Bar" eroeffnete im April 39 „Rex" als Familiencafé. Nach einigen Monaten jedoch stellten seine Inhaber, das Ehepaar Berger, den Betrieb auf Bar um, wobei zu bemerken ist, dass hier ca. 20 Emigranten Beschaeftigung finden. Ein paar Haeuser weiter entstand das „Imperial" unter Lachmanns Leitung, das die richtige Konditorei repraesentieren sollte. Spaeter wurde dieses Lokal von Zuckermann und seiner Frau uebernommen, um ebenfalls als Bar weitergefuehrt zu werden, wodurch wieder mehr als ein Dutzend Emigranten Beschaeftigung fanden. Am Ende dieser Reihe etablierte sich das buergerliche Esslokal „Florida". Hieraus wurde dann nach der Uebernahme von Julius Katz und Frau das „Windsor". Dieses Café und Restaurant erhielt eine besondere Note durch Pianisten Sonnenschein,[21] der einen Anziehungspunkt fuer ein verstaendnisvolles Publikum bildete.

Etwas spaeter als am Broadway East begann die wirtschaftliche Kolonisation des oberen Broadway in der Naehe der Gardenbridge. Den Beginn machte das Café „Colibri". Tobias Brecher und Max Schwarz schufen in 2 Etagen ein Café und Restaurant. Nach Ausscheiden von Schwarz trat Gustav Weiss in das Unternehmen ein, dem nun noch eine eigene Konditorei angegliedert wurde. Dank seiner guenstigen Lage wurde das Colibri der Treffpunkt vieler Geschaeftsleute und japanischer |36| Gaeste. Nebenan eroeffnete Taussig das „Gardenbridge-Restaurant", das er vor einiger Zeit nach der East Seward Road verlegte, und aus dem ehemaligen Restaurant wurde eine vornehme Foreigner-Bar „Mon Ami". Das einzige Zigarrengeschaeft der Gegend verdankt seine Entstehung ebenfalls Emigranten. Von Weinberg eröffnet, wurde es von Dr. Ernst und Dr. Kurt Berg uebernommen, und erfreut sich

21 The musician and composer Siegfried Sonnenschein (1909–1980) had studied music in Dresden. In Shanghai, he became a popular pianist, an organizer of cabaret performances, and a composer of the operetta *Sag, bist Du mir gut?* He left Shanghai in 1947. For his professional life in Dresden, cf. Franziska Specht, Zwischen Ghetto und Selbstbehauptung. Musikalisches Leben der Juden in Sachsen, 1933–1941, Altenburg 2000.

dort weitester Beliebtheit. Auch ein Papiergeschaeft durfte hier nicht fehlen, und so erblickte im April 1939 „Read & Write", von Silbermann nebst Partner gegruendet, das Licht des Broadway.

Ein Unternehmen, dessen Art bis dato in Shanghai unbekannt war, ist das kleine Café „Elite" im Hause des Broadway Mansion, eine Art „Schwemme", wie wir zu sagen pflegten und wie wir sie bei den grossen Hotels von Europa her kennen. Man erhaelt dort dieselben Speisen, die im Hotel ausgegeben werden, zu billigen Preisen und ist dadurch nicht gezwungen, sein Essen im Speisesaal einzunehmen und sich umzukleiden. Ebenso ist es den auswaertigen Gaesten hierdurch moeglich, zwanglos die Speisen des Lokals zu geniessen.

Ein Unternehmen dieser Epoche verdient besondere Erwaehnung. Der „Emi Express", auf deutsch Emigranten-Express. Infolge der Ueberfuellung der japanischen Busse und der grossen Zeitabstaende, in denen damals die Busse der Gesellschaft aus Wagenmangel verkehrten, kamen die wagemutigen Woislawski und Flatauer auf die Idee, eine Buslinie zwischen der Wayside Post und der Gardenbridge einzurichten, die jedoch nur Foreigner befoerdern durfte. Man fing mit einem kleinen Fordwagen an, war aber bald in der Lage, 2 Gross-Omnibusse in Dienst zu stellen, bis eines Tages der Betrieb auf behoerdliche Anordnung eingestellt werden musste. Wer von den schon damals hier weilenden Immigranten erinnert sich nicht der Eroeffnung des „Wayside Bazars": Urspruenglich von Eli und Stroh ins Leben gerufen, darauf unter der Firma Eli und Prager weitergefuehrt, wurde er bald von Bruno Prager[22] allein uebernommen, der ihm auch obenstehenden Namen gab.

Zu den Schrittmachern im Beginn der Wayside Road gehoerte Amalie Leschnik, die dort das erste Spezialgeschaeft fuer Haus- und Wirtschaftsartikel gruendete, und das einzigste Spezialgeschaeft bis heute geblieben ist. Aus eigener Kraft und kleinsten Anfaengen begann sie spaeter in Gemeinschaft mit ihrem Bruder das Unternehmen, das sie heute zu einer zufriedenen Hoehe emporgebracht hat. Zur gleichen Zeit geschah daneben eine Gruendung, die allgemein Aufsehen erregte. Alfred Flatow eroeffnete seine Fleischerei und Provisionstore im ziemlichen Ausmass mit ca. 12 Angestellten. Im Sommer wurde es durch Hinzukommen einer Eisdiele noch vergroessert. Im Herbst 1939 wurde der Betrieb in eine Caféstube umgewandelt, waehrend Anfang 1940 eine vollstaendige Umstellung auf Café und Konditorei erfolgte. Nicht nur, dass das Unternehmen sich grosser Popularitaet erfreute, erhielt der ziemlich umfangreiche Vorplatz vor dem Lokal, der im Sommer ebenfalls fuer den Restaurationsbetrieb herhalten musste, im Volksmund

22 Prager (c. 1894–?) also appeared on stage at the Artist Club in late 1939 with a humorous performance; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 47.

der Im- |37| migration den Namen „Flatowplatz“. Im April 42 wurde allerdings das Café an Weinberg und Keller verkauft, die sich zum Ziel gesetzt hatten, dank ihres grossen Bekanntenkreises nach voelliger Umgestaltung der Raeumlichkeiten durch „Decorative Art“ zu einem gemuetlichen und behaglichen Treffpunkt zu machen. Die Umbenennung in „Café Roy“ war der Beginn einer neuen Bluetezeit fuer dieses Unternehmen. Etwas spaeter eroeffnete in diesem Teil I. Laufer & Sohn das erste Uhrmachergeschaeft. Beide haben es verstanden, in Zusammenarbeit sich ebenfalls hier durchzusetzen, zumal da ihnen ihre Vielseitigkeit – neben Uhrreparaturen uebernehmen sie auch Goldschmiedearbeit, Gravierungen und Optik – sehr zugute kommt. Hierbei sei nicht vergessen, dass am Broadway selbst in einem Teil der Badeanstalt der Uhrmacher S. Laub sich etablierte, ebenfalls von seinem fachkundigen Sohn unterstuetzt. Im Juni 1940 uebersiedelte er nach der East Seward Road, wo er sich einen Kundenkreis aus allen Nationen bestehend, schaffen konnte.

Auch die erste Epoche in Hongkew fand zum Fruehjahr 39 ihren Abschluss und setzte – ausgenommen die Gartenlokale – in groesserem Masse erst wieder zum Herbst ein. Hongkew oder genauer gesagt, der Wayside-Distrikt, war eine ausgesprochene Emigrantenkolonie geworden. Hierbei sei eingefuegt, dass auch bei der Polizei 2 Emigranten, Hamel und spaeter Kovacs,[23] Unterkommen gefunden hatten. Es war ein angenehmes Gefuehl, auf der Strasse ploetzlich Immigranten als Polizisten zu begegnen, wie ueberhaupt auf der Station des groessten Distriktes, der „Wayside“, der Mentalitaet der Emigranten Rechnung getragen wurde.

Die Immigranten gaben diesem Stadtteil sein Gepraege. Jeder Neubau trug den europaeischen Stempel, jedes neue Geschaeft verriet den europaeischen Geschmack, immer wieder war man bemueht, das Bild der Heimat hier zu uebertragen. In immer groesserem Masse wurden Haeuser von Emigranten gepachtet, durch Vertretungen der grossen Foreigner-Firmen und eigene Produktionsstaetten wurde der Kreis geschlossen.

Hier bewahrheitete sich der Satz „Und neues Leben blueht aus den Ruinen,“[24] im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes. Was hier in kurzer Zeit geschaffen worden war, erweckte die Anerkennung aller Kreise, und besonders auch der Japaner, die immer mehr zu Kunden der Immigranten wurden. So schwer der Existenzkampf fuer den einzelnen wie fuer die Gesamtheit war, so starke Erschuetterungen die junge Emigrantenwirtschaft auch aushalten musste, als die Wirtschaftskonjunktur in Shanghai sich immer mehr verschlechterte, so

23 For Kovacs, see Documents 136 and 156.

24 This aphorism is taken from Friedrich Schiller’s drama *Wilhelm Tell* (1804), fourth act, second scene.

hat sie ihre Feuerprobe dennoch bestehen koennen, indem sie immer wieder verstand, der Zeitnoete Herr zu werden. […][25]

|47| **DAS RELIGIOESE LEBEN**

Wenn wir diesem Kapitel die Ueberschrift „Das religioese Leben" und nicht „Das Juedische Leben" gegeben haben, so geschah es deshalb, weil unsere Immigration auch Personen in sich schliesst, die nicht dem Judentum angehoeren,[26] aber ebenso wie die juedischen Immigranten religioeses Empfinden haben. Schliesslich ist die Religion ja eine Angelegenheit jedes Einzelnen, und wenn man auch bestrebt ist, die religioesen Belange bei jedem Menschen wachzuhalten, so muss man immerhin es ihm selbst ueberlassen, wie weit sein religioeses Gefuehl geht. Die hierher emigrierten Juden waren zum groessten Teil von ihrer alten Heimat her irgendwie an eine religioese Gemeinschaft gewohnt, und es hat sich immer wieder, wo Juden in groesserem Masse zusammenkommen, gezeigt, dass die juedische Gemeinschaft, vom religioesen Standpunkt aus betrachtet, dem Einzelnen doch ein Gefuehl der Geborgenheit gibt. So ist es ganz erklaerlich, dass auch hier bald nach dem Eintreffen einer groesseren Anzahl Emigranten der Wunsch nach einer solchen Gemeinschaft wach wurde und der Gedanke zur

Gruendung einer Juedischen Gemeinde

auch in Shanghai mehrfach entstand. Hier spielte die Duplizitaet der Ereignisse eine besondere Rolle. Anfang Maerz 39 drueckte Heinz Ganther Frau Memelsdorff gegenueber den Wunsch aus, den Versuch zu machen, hier eine Juedische Gemeinde ins Leben zu rufen nach dem Vorbild einer solchen in Paris, in der er 2 Jahre mitgearbeitet hatte und von der er entsprechende Empfehlungen mitbrachte. Bei dieser Gelegenheit erfuhr er, dass gerade einige Maenner der Emigration bereits dabei seien, eine Gemeinde ins Leben zu rufen. Um von vornherein ein etwaiges Nebeneinanderarbeiten zu vermeiden, setzte sich Ganther mit Dr. Bernhard Rosenberg in Verbindung, der zu diesen Maennern gehoerte. Es stellte sich nun heraus, dass auf Initiative von Leopold Steinhardt bereits ein Aufruf zur Gruendung einer Juedischen Gemeinde verfasst worden war und dass Herr Steinhardt bereits gewisse Vorarbeit geleistet hatte, indem er sich mit den repraesentativen Persoenlichkei-

25 The chapter Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft has been omitted.

26 About 10 percent of the married Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria came with spouses, mostly wives, who were not Jewish by the Nazi definition. Some of these had converted to Judaism, some not; cf. Helga Embacher/Margit Reiter, Geschlechterbeziehungen in Extremsituationen. Österreichische und deutsche Frauen im Shanghai der dreißiger und vierziger Jahre, in: Armbrüster/Kohlstruck/Mühlberger, Exil, 133–146, here 141 f.

ten des Shanghaier juedischen Lebens in Verbindung gesetzt hatte und bei ihnen auf volles Verstaendnis stiess.

Man war sich von Anfang an ueber viele Schwierigkeiten voellig im Klaren. Vor allen Dingen war die Frage des Kultus die primaere; denn gerade die Gottesdienste sollten ja das erste sein, was den Neuankoemmlingen gegeben werden sollte. Hier zeigte sich nun der erste Stein, der im Wege lag, da die hiesigen Juden keinesfalls gestatten wollten, dass man in ihren Gotteshaeusern, die sie uns fuer unsere Gottesdienste zu ueberlassen bereit waren, andere als die hier gebraeuchlichen Riten einfuehrte. In unseren Kreisen wusste man, dass der groesste Teil der Emigranten in der alten Heimat liberale Gottesdienste besucht hatte. Den Gedanken an eine solche Einfuehrung hier in den |48| bestehenden Bethaeusern durfte man noch nicht einmal erwaehnen.[27] Andererseits war man sich darueber klar, dass die Schaffung einer Juedischen Gemeinde zunaechst einmal nur im Kontakt mit der moralischen Unterstuetzung der hiesigen eingesessenen Judenheit geschehen konnte.

Der grundlegende Gedanke und die zu waehlende Form wurde dann in der denkwuerdigen Besprechung am 30. April 39 in der Wohnung des Rv. Brown,[28] der sich der Angelegenheit angenommen hatte, festgelegt. Nunmehr begann man mit den Vorarbeiten zur Konstituierung eines vorbereitenden Vorstandes. Diesem gehoerten an: Dr. Georg Glass[29] als Vorsitzender,

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27 Besides the local Sephardic synagogues Beth Aharon (see ch. 2, n. 90) and Ohel Rachel on Seymour Road, built in 1920, there was the Russian-Ashkenazi synagogue Ohel Moishe on Ward Road – though from 1941 on its community used the New Synagogue on Route Tenant de la Tour in the French Concession. Refugees held conservative and liberal services at the Broadway Theater and in restaurants from spring 1939 and summer 1940 on, respectively. The first refugee synagogue, Emet Ve'Shalom, opened in fall 1941 on Ward Road.

28 Mendel Brown (1885–1949) own was an Englishman of Polish background who had studied at the University of London and who was ordained by the Jews College London. In 1932 he began serving as unofficial rabbi at the Ohel Rachel Synagogue, and later as principal of Hebrew and religion at the Shanghai Jewish School run by Ohel Rachel. In 1933 he served as chaplain of the SVC; cf. Ristaino, Port, 66 f.; Meyer, From the Rivers, 106.

29 Glass (1891–1968) was a pediatrician from Berlin. He emigrated to Shanghai as early as 1933, and from 1939 to 1941 he was head of the Jüdische Gemeinde. He settled in 1949 in the United States; cf. Eduard Seidler, Jewish Pediatricians. Victims of Persecution 1933–1945, Basel ²2007, 153 f.

Ludwig Braun, Heinz Ganther, R. R. Glaser,[30] Gerhard Gottschalk,[31] Arnold Jacobson, G. Moch, Dr. Bernhard Rosenberg,[32] Arnold Rossmann, Leopold Steinhardt, Oskar Weiss, Max Warschauer,[33] S. Zilbersain. Als Verbindungsmann zum Committee kam dazu Dr. Kurt Marx.[34] Zunaechst wurde nun als richtunggebend festgelegt, dass die aufzubauende Juedische Gemeinde vorerst als „Juedische Kultusgemeinde des Committees" ins Leben gerufen werden sollte.

Waehrend die Vorbereitungen weiterliefen, veranstaltete Leopold Steinhardt anlaesslich des Schewuos-Festes[35] den ersten Gottesdienst im Broadway-Theater, der durch die Ueberfuelle des Hauses zeigte, wie notwendig Gottesdienste sind. Als Kantor fungierte hier zum ersten Mal Max Warschauer, waehrend die erste ergreifende Predigt, die wir zu hoeren bekamen, von Harry Wachsner gehalten wurde.

Am 10. Juli wurde endlich die vollzogene Gruendung der Juedischen Kultusgemeinde in der Presse veroeffentlicht und der von dem vorbereitenden Ausschuss vorlaeufig gewaehlte Vorstand bekanntgegeben: Dr. Georg Glass, Vorsitzender, Arnold Rossmann Stellvertreter, Ludwig Braun, Gerhard Gottschalk, Hugo Kaufmann, Dr. Kurt Marx, Leopold Steinhardt, Oskar Weiss, S. Zilbersain.

Die nunmehr beginnende praktische Arbeit wurde in den damals noch sehr beschraenkten Bueroraeumen in der Ward Road Lane von einem Stabe ehrenamtlicher Mitarbeiter, zu denen Rechtsanwalt Trumm [sic],[36] die Her-

30 Rudolf R. Glaser (c. 1898–?) hailed from Leipzig. In Shanghai he was active in the Jüdische Gemeinde.

31 Gottschalk (1899–1974) was a comedian, singer, and entertainer from Berlin who arrived in Shanghai in late 1938. He was one of the first members of Jüdische Gemeinde.

32 Rosenberg (1897–?) was an internist and amateur musician who left Germany in 1933 and reached China via Palestine. He came to Shanghai after practicing for some time in Harbin. After the war, he settled in Japan; cf. Schmitt-Englert, Deutsche in China, 24.

33 The cantor and singer Warschauer (1911–?) hailed from Beuthen (Silesia). He reached Shanghai in spring 1939, and from 1944 on he taught singing at the Chinese National Conservatory. In 1946 he left Shanghai for Australia; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Max Warschauer, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00006958> (February 5, 2016).

34 Marx was the first director of the CAEJR; he also served as director of the Relief Society of German-Austrian Jews, cf. Ristaino, Port, 105.

35 Shavu'ot.

36 Albert Trum (1902–1988), a lawyer from Koblenz, was imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp after the November pogrom of 1938. Released a month later on the condition that he would emigrate, he reached Shanghai via ship from Venice

ren Epstein und Kupferberg, sowie Frau Bieber gehoerten, begonnen. Man machte sich an die Einrichtung regelmaessiger Gottesdienste, die von den hier weilenden Kantoren turnusmaessig abgehalten wurden. Ebenso nahmen die Rabbiner Dr. Winter,[37] der jedoch bald nach seinen ersten Predigten nach Amerika weiterwanderte, und Dr. Zeitin ihre Taetigkeit im Rahmen der Gemeinde auf. Spaeter kam Rabbiner Sober[38] hinzu. Im weiteren Ausbau traten spaeter auch die Choere in Taetigkeit, von Martin Epstein, Heinrich Markt und Harry Hauptmann geleitet. Einige Zeit spaeter entschloss sich der Vorstand, der sich selbst nur als provisorisch betrachtete, einen neuen Vorstand auf breiterer Grundlage zu waehlen, zumal da der Aufgabenkreis der Gemeinde, an die bereits aus den Kreisen der Emigranten groessere Ansprueche gestellt wurden, sich zwangslaeufig erweiterte. Eine Wahlkommission verkuendete bald darauf die Zusammensetzung des neuen Vorstandes mit Leopold Steinhardt als Vorsitzenden, Hugo |49| Kaufmann als Stellvertreter, sowie Rudolf Glaser, Dr. Fritz Lesser,[39] Hermann Koller, Arnold Rossmann, Dr. Kurt Redlich,[40] Dr. Adolf Sametz, Max Smolianski und Oskar Weiss. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt begann eine neue Epoche fuer die Gemeinde insofern, als sie offiziell vom Committee getrennt wurde und als Juedische Gemeinde mit

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in 1939. In 1947 he settled in the United States; cf. <http://mahnmal-koblenz.de/index.php/2013-12-12-02-07-02/die-personentafeln/237-095-albert-trum-rechtsanwalt-aus-boppard> (August 22, 2016).

37 Dr. Moritz Winter (1886–1971) served as a rabbi in Leipzig and Königsberg (today Kaliningrad, Russia), and during World War I he was a military rabbi. From 1922 on he was a rabbi and teacher in Berlin until he fled to Shanghai in 1939. After the war he settled in San Francisco; cf. Michael Brocke/Julius Carlebach (eds.), Biographisches Handbuch der Rabbiner, part II, ed. by Katrin Nele Jansen: Die Rabbiner im Deutschen Reich, 1871–1945, Munich 2009, 661.

38 Karl Heinz (Jacob) Sober (1917–?) studied at the conservative Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau. He served until the end of 1946 as rabbi in Shanghai, and immigrated to the United States in 1948; cf. Guido Kisch, Das Breslauer Seminar. Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar „Fraenkelsche Stiftung" in Breslau 1854–1938, Tübingen 1963, 435.

39 Lesser (1888–1961) was a dentist from Berlin. Besides his presidency of the Jüdische Gemeinde from 1941 onwards, he was also active in the B'nai B'rith and ORT of Shanghai. In 1947 he settled in Cincinnati; cf. <http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=431019#d1e55> (August 18, 2016).

40 Redlich (1903–1983) was a lawyer from Vienna. In Shanghai he served as judge of the Jüdische Gemeinde's arbitration court; in 1948, he settled in the United States; cf. Heppner, Shanghai Refuge, xii.

dem Untertitel „Jewish Community of European Central [sic]Jews“[41] weiterfungierte. Anfang Dezember siedelte man in das eigene Haus in der East Seward Road ueber. Inzwischen hatte die Gemeinde bereits nach entsprechenden Vereinbarungen mit dem hiesigen Beth Din[42] und dem I.C. verlautbart, dass Anmeldungen von Geburten Trauungen, Sterbefaellen, Barmizwahs etc. bei ihr vorzunehmen seien. Ebenso begann die Gemeinde mit dem Hauptdezernat jeder Juedischen Gemeinde neben dem Kultus: der Wohlfahrt. Naturgemaess konnte diese anfangs nur in ganz bescheidenem Rahmen walten, da die Eingaenge bei der Gemeinde selbst nur sehr spaerlich waren, was zum grossen Teil an der Zurueckhaltung der Immigranten lag, die der Entwicklung der Gemeinde immer noch abwartend gegenueber standen. So sehr einerseits dies zu verurteilen war, so musste man es andererseits verstehen, da durch staendige Zwistigkeiten und Meinungsverschiedenheiten innerhalb der jeweiligen Vorstaende von einer gedeihlichen Zusammenarbeit im Interesse der Gesamtheit noch nichts zu merken war. Ende Dezember 1939 wurde daher wiederum eine Umbildung und gleichzeitige Erweiterung des Vorstandes beschlossen, um allen Kreisen Rechnung zu tragen. Anfang 1940 begann der neue Vorstand unter dem Vorsitz von Arnold Rossmann und seinem Stellvertreter Hugo Kaufmann seine Taetigkeit. Ergaenzend zu den bisherigen Vorstandmitgliedern kamen die Herren: Paul Bendix,[43] Hugo Kantorowsky, Dr. Otto Krotischoner [sic],[44] Ossi Lewin, Dr. Mark Siegelberg,[45] Lutz Wachsner,[46] Julius Weinberger. An dieser Stelle soll jedoch ein Mann er-

41 The refugee community was officially called the Jüdische Gemeinde; its English labels, the Communal Association of Central European Jews or the Community of Central European Jews, were also common, the first serving as the official translation.

42 Heb., Jewish Court. It was founded in 1939 in order to mediate between the various religious congregations and decide on religious and rabbinical affairs. Its first president was Rabbi Meir Ashkenazi; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 57.

43 Dr. Paul Bendix (1895–1961) was a medical doctor from Frankfurt/Main, and returned to Frankfurt after the war; cf. Alon Tauber (ed.), Zwischen Kontinuität und Neuanfang. Die Entstehung der jüdischen Nachkriegsgemeinde in Frankfurt am Main 1945–1949, Wiesbaden 2008, 161 f.

44 Otto Koritschoner (c. 1888–?) was a lawyer from Vienna.

45 Siegelberg (1895–1986) was born in Kiev and studied law and economy in Bern and Vienna, where he later worked as a journalist. Incarcerated in Dachau in 1938, he managed to get to Shanghai in 1939. In 1941 he left for Australia, where he founded the German weekly *Neue Welt*; in 1969, he returned to Austria; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 92.

46 Lutz Wachsner (1891–1968) was a textile merchant from Breslau who came to Shanghai with his wife Else in 1939. He was a board member of the Jüdische Gemeinde throughout his time in the city, and also worked for some time for the JDC and the

waehnt werden, der ohne irgendwelche Kenntnis der Materie das schwierigste Dezernat uebernahm: den Kultus, Lutz Wachsner. Nur von dem Gedanken beseelt, der Gemeinde und der Gesamtheit zu dienen, machte er sich an dieses verantwortungsvolle Gebiet, in das er sich nach und nach immer mehr hineinfand und es rein gefuehlsmaessig so weit wie nur moeglich, ausbaute.

Einen besonderen Ansporn zu regerer Taetigkeit erhielt die Gemeinde Mitte 1940 durch die Gruendung der „Juedisch-liberalen Gemeinde", deren erste Gottesdienste mit Harmonium und gemischtem Chor den lediglich konservativen Gottesdiensten der Juedischen Gemeinde einen grossen Teil der Besucher nahm. Nach anfaenglicher Ablehnung fuehrte die Juedische Gemeinde einige Zeit spaeter ebenfalls liberale Gottesdienste ein, die ihr eine grosse Anzahl Anhaenger zufuehrten. Inzwischen bekam die Juedische Gemeinde in dem leider allzu frueh verstorbenen Willy Teichner[47] einen Rabbiner und Seelsorger, der es in kuerzester Zeit verstand, eine wirkliche Gemeinschaft um sich zu sammeln. Er gab auch dem Gemeindeleben einen neuen Impuls und wurde trotz seiner Jugend von seinen Amtskollegen ebenso hoch geschaetzt wie er von der Jugend, der |50| er sein ganzes Ich widmete, verehrt wurde. Es wurde ueberhaupt auf die Ausgestaltung des Gemeinderabbinats, zu dem auch spaeter noch Dr. Kantorowsky[48] und Dr. Silberstein[49] hinzukamen, Wert gelegt, zumal da auch die Seelsorger mit bestimmten Aufgaben bedacht wurden. Inzwischen war auch eine Chewra Kadischa[50] gebildet wor-

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CAEJR, and for a short period of time for the Kitchen Fund (see Document 89). His wife died of a disease in Shanghai in 1945. After the war, he settled in the United States. For more on the Wachsner family, cf. Martin Gilbert, Kristallnacht. Prelude to Destruction, New York 2006, 81 f.; 192 f.

47 Dr. Wilhelm Teichner (1909–1942) studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau and served as a liberal rabbi in Hirschberg and Stolp (today Jelenia Góra and Słupsk, Poland) until 1939, when he emigrated to Shanghai. He served as community rabbi and died there from an unidentified disease; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 95, Brocke/Carlebach, Biographisches Handbuch, 608.

48 Liberal rabbi Dr. Georg Kantorowsky (1883–1972) studied at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau. After working as a rabbi in Bernburg and Berlin he reached Shanghai in 1940, where he was a community rabbi and executive rabbi of the Bet Din until he emigrated to the United States in 1949; cf. ibid., 326.

49 Dr. Emil Silberstein (1867–1946) served as a liberal rabbi in Stargard (Pomerania) from 1900 to 1936. He reached Shanghai on a Japanese visa in 1940 and died there; cf. ibid., 573; <http://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn508693> (August 23, 2016).

50 Burial society; its members assist with the religious requirements and practical necessities of the deceased.

den, die bestrebt war, in juedischer Pflichterfuellung nach den gewohnten Grundsaetzen der alten Heimat zu wirken.

Eine Einrichtung innerhalb der Juedischen Gemeinde verdient heute unbedingt einer besonderen Erwaehnung: der Frauenbund. Unter dem Vorsitz von Frau Wolff entwickelte sich diese Organisation infolge der wirklich aufopfernden Mitarbeit aller ihm Angehoerenden zu einem Faktor, der aus dem Gemeindeleben heute kaum wegzudenken ist. Begonnen wurde mit der Einladung aelterer beduerftiger Leute zur Freitag-Abend-Tafel, die dem Frauenbund in allen Kreisen sofort Anerkennung und weitere Hilfsbereitschaft verschaffte. Ferner machte sich der Frauenbund zur Aufgabe, die Betreuung und Pflege von Kranken zu uebernehmen. Nicht vergessen seien die von ihnen veranstalteten Sederabende, die Hunderten bedrueckter juedischer Menschen Weihestunden bedeuteten. Besondere Hilfsarbeit leistet der Frauenbund auch dem Wohlfahrtsamt in Zusammenarbeit mit der Volkskueche der Juedischen Gemeinde, die fuer eine grosse Anzahl Emigranten eine unentbehrliche Hilfe bedeutet. Unlaengst richtete er auch eine Naeh- und Flickstube ein, um den Emigranten ihre Bekleidungsstuecke in gutem Zustand zu erhalten.

Im November 1941 eroeffnete die Juedische Gemeinde ihre erste eigene Synagoge in der MacGregor Road, in der alltaeglich Schacharis und Mincha[51] gebetet wird. Das Friedhofswesen,[52] anfaenglich dem Committee unterstellt, wurde unlaengst auch in eigene Verwaltung uebernommen. Dieses Gebiet erfordert heute eine umsichtige Verwaltung, an die gerade im letzten Sommer grosse Ansprueche gestellt werden mussten. Auch auf geistigem Gebiet versucht die Juedische Gemeinde taetig zu sein, indem sie die 1939 von Weissmann, Heinemann, Dr. Zacharias, Dr. Trumm und Dr. Dreyfuss [sic][53] begruendete und gefuehrte „Kulturgemeinschaft", dann in „Kulturkreis der

51 Morning and afternoon prayer.

52 Shanghai had four Jewish cemeteries: the first, the Israel Cemetery, was endowed by David Sassoon in 1862 on Mohawk Road and used by Baghdadi and Russian Jews; in the early twentieth century, the Russian Chevra Kadisha founded a second cemetery on Baikal Road; the third cemetery, on Columbia Road, was established in 1940 by the Refugee Community, and expanded until the community had to purchase land for a fourth on Point Road in November 1941.

53 Alfred Dreifuss (1902–1993) hailed from Stuttgart, where he co-founded the "Ensemble" theater group; he later moved to Berlin, where he joined the communist party. He was imprisoned from 1935 to 1939 in several concentration camps, among these in Dachau and Buchenwald. In Shanghai, apart from his work as a dramatic adviser, director, and actor, he wrote for newspapers and magazines. In 1947 he settled in East Berlin, where he was employed at several theaters. He continued his journalistic activities and wrote about the Nazis in Shanghai under the pseudonym C. W. Liau,

Juedischen Gemeinde“ umbenannt, in ihren Rahmen spannte und durch interessante Vortraege auf allen Gebieten fuer die Entspannung und Belehrung der Immigranten zu sorgen versucht.

Wenn wir die wesentlichen Gebiete der Gemeinde bis in die heutige Zeit behandelt haben, so geschah es daher, dass wir die einzelnen Entwicklungen nicht unterbrechen wollten, daher wollen wir nun noch die administrative Weiter-Entwicklung der Gemeinde kurz aufzeigen. Unter der Praesidentschaft von Dr. Lesser wurde im Sommer 1941 die erste oeffentliche Gemeindewahl veranstaltet, die den Zweck hatte, aus allen Kreisen der Immigranten Repraesentanten zu waehlen.

Einen ganz neuen Aufgabenkreis erhielt die Juedische Gemeinde |51| nach Ausbruch des Pazifikkrieges durch die japanischen Behoerden, die nunmehr die Juedische Gemeinde als die einzige Vertretung saemtlicher Emigranten zu betrachten wuenschte. Die Gemeinde wurde somit ueber Nacht von einer kulturellen Einrichtung zu einer verwaltungspolitischen. Nicht nur die Registrierungspflicht zwecks Empfang der s. zt.[54] voruebergehend verausgabten Paesse, sondern auch die Bekanntgabe aller behoerdlichen Wuensche an die Immigration liess uns deutlich erkennen, dass die Juedische Gemeinde, die bald auch den Untertitel „Communal Association of Central European Jews“ erhielt, zu einer offiziellen Stelle geworden ist. Inzwischen trat an Stelle Dr. Lessers Dr. Kardegg[55] die Praesidentschaft an, und wir duerfen sicher glauben, in ihm die ruhige und besonnene Persoenlichkeit zu haben, die nicht nur das Vertrauen der Behoerden, seiner Mitarbeiter und der Immigration besitzt, sondern auch die Faehigkeit haben duerfte, die Immigration zu repraesentieren und zu vertreten. Vielleicht waere es manchmal nicht unangebracht, wenn er im Kreise seiner Mitarbeiter etwas energischer auftreten wuerde; denn manchmal tut vielleicht auch etwas Diktatur in unseren Reihen gut.

Der Aufgabenkreis der Juedischen Gemeinde ist naturgemaess in der letzten Zeit infolge der steigenden Not ein gewaltiger geworden … Das Committee ist heute im allgemeinen nur noch fuer die Unterbringung in den Heimen, sowie die Brot- und Rohkostausgabe zustaendig, dazu kommt die Ambulanzbehandlung und Ausgabe von Medikamenten etc. Die Gesamtleitung des Committees, das aus einem Gremium juedischer Maenner aller Shang-

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and composed an autobiography, *Ensemblespiel des Lebens. Erinnerungen eines Theatermannes* (1985).

54 Seinerzeit.

55 Felix Kardegg (c. 1884–1945), a lawyer from Vienna, was elected vice chairman and later head of the Jüdische Gemeinde of Shanghai. He died in Shanghai during an air raid.

haier Emigrantenkreise besteht, ist Lutz Wachsner uebertragen worden. Eine der wichtigsten Einrichtungen, die urspruenglich aus dem Taetigkeitsbereich der Juedischen Gemeinde hervorging, ist der unlaengst ins Leben gerufene „Kitchen Found“[56] [sic]. Dieser uebernahm es, fuer die Heranschaffung von Geldern Sorge zu tragen, die ausschliesslich fuer Patenschaften Unterstuetzungsbeduerftiger verwendet werden sollen.

Durch die Wahl des jetzigen I.C.-Leiters, Robert Peritz,[57] in den Vorstand der Gemeinde und die Unterstellung des Committees unter den Kitchen-Found wurde ein weiterer Schritt zur Zentralisierung der Immigration geschaffen. […][58]

|93| **DAS KUENSTLERISCHE SCHAFFEN**

Die Menschen, die nach Shanghai kamen, hatten wohl noch nie zuvor eine derartige Sehnsucht nach geistiger Ablenkung empfunden. Aber wo waren die Kuenstler, die unter den hiesigen primitiven Verhaeltnissen in der Lage waren, einem so unterschiedlichen Publikum etwas zu bieten?! Gewiss war man sich bewusst, dass man keine Vergleiche ziehen durfte, aber es sollte doch zumindest die Illusion eines Theaters geschaffen werden. Ausserdem gab es keine Raeumlichkeiten, in denen sich irgendwelche Veranstaltungen aufziehen liessen. So kam es, dass sich die ersten hier gelandeten Kuenstler, wie Gerhard Gottschalk, Jenny Rausnitz,[59] Deszoe Gruen[60] und Bernhard

56 The Kitchen Fund was established in late summer of 1942 (see Documents 89 and 171). For further information, cf. Zhava Litvac Glaser, Refugees and Relief. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and European Jews in Cuba and Shanghai 1938–1943. Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York 2015, <http://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent. cgi?article=1560&context=gc_etds> (September 5, 2016).

57 Peritz (1895–?) followed Komor as chairman of the IC. However, he was a Japanese informant from 1939 onward; cf. Freyeisen, Shanghai, 472; Ristaino, Port, 180 f.

58 The remaining paragraphs of this chapter (pp. 51–54), entitled Jüdisch-Liberale Gemeinde and Die anderen religioesen Gemeinschaften deal with the communal activities among Catholics, Quakers, Protestants and the Hebrew Mission.

59 The Austrian actress Rausnitz (1910–1988) began her career in Vienna, and achieved popularity almost immediately. After the war, she settled first in Vienna and later in Biel (Switzerland), where she acted in the local theater; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 175.

60 Deszö (Desiderius) Grün (1894–1946) was an actor and comedian born in Budapest. In Shanghai he married Jenny Rausnitz; cf. ibid., 168. He and his wife were members of the theater troupe Die sieben Schauspieler, which also included Fritz Heller, Erwin Engel, Felix Löschner, Leon Plohn, and Erwin Schlesinger.

Bernhardi[61] mit dem Speisesaal des Ward Road Heims begnuegen mussten, bis schliesslich Willi Mann[62] im wiedereroeffneten Broadway-Theatre einen Kabarettabend aufzog. Bald musste man die Vorstellungen auf die Nacht verlegen, da der Kinobesitzer den Raum am Abend nicht verpachten wollte. Das Publikum sah ueber manchen blutigen Dilettantismus hinweg. Es stroemte ins Broadway-Theatre, es fuellte die inzwischen eroeffneten Lokale, die sich in Bunten Abenden ueberboten. Schliesslich veranstaltete die „Shanghai-Woche" ihren ersten Abend auf dem neuen Dachgarten „Mascot",[63] der zum ersten Male Foreigners wieder in Hongkew sah und seinen Niederschlag in einer Fotoreportage im Magazin „Spot light" unter dem Titel „Die Emigranten kriechen aus ihrer Muschel heraus" fand.

Hier trat zum ersten Male auch Lily Flohr[64] auf, die gerade angekommen war und keine Ahnung von ihrem ersten Shanghaier Engagement hatte. Die Flohr hat in Shanghai wohl die groesste Carriere aller Emigrantenkuenstlerinnen gemacht. Ihr ungeheurer Fleiss liess sie in die Fremdsprachen eindringen, ihr Repertoire umfasst Chansons aller Laender. In den ersten Hotels und Night Clubs ist Lily Flohr seither aufgetreten und immer wieder reengagiert worden. Neben ihr mag Herbert Zernik[65] nicht allein der populaerste Kuenstler unter den Immigranten sein, sondern auf Grund seiner Vielseitigkeit auch in den anderen Shanghaier Kreisen ein begehrter Vortragskuenstler und Pianist geworden sein. Von den Kuenstlern, die in den Anfangsstadien unseres Kunstlebens an die Oeffentlichkeit traten, seien noch vor allem Walter

61 Bernhardy, a magician and comedian; cf. ibid., 161.

62 Mann (c. 1896–?) was a merchant from Mainz. In Shanghai, he acted and worked as a radio presenter at the Chinese radio station XHHZ; cf. Buxbaum, Transit, 126; Seywald, Journalisten, 147, 326.

63 The popular café and restaurant Mascot was above the Broadway Cinema on Wayside Road. It offered entertainment, music shows, and daily dancing. The owner was Kurt (Curt) Wendriner (c. 1895–?), an inn-keeper from Beuthen; cf. Hochstadt, Exodus, 265.

64 Flohr (née Elisabeth Günsburger; 1893/1903–1978) hailed from Vienna. Before 1934, she acted in German and Austrian silent movies and appeared on theater, comedy, and operetta stages in Vienna and Berlin. She became a popular actress and singer in Shanghai. After the war, she settled in Australia; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 164 f.

65 Zernik (1903–1972?) was released from imprisonment at Buchenwald and left for Shanghai, where his Berlin experience in the sound film production made him a busy and much sought-after bar singer, comedian, and master of ceremonies. After the war he lived briefly in the United States, and then returned to Germany; cf. Jeremy Leong, Musical Irony and Identity Politics. Austro-German Jewish Refugees in Republican China, in: Katherine L. Turner (ed.), This is the Sound of Irony. Music, Politics and Popular Culture, London/New York 2015, 59–72, here 65 f.

und Hilde Friedmann,[66] die verstorbene Ilse Meyer-Frank, Walter Lewens, Jani Ballan,[67] Fritz Schnitzer,[68] die Brueder Feuereisen und der junge Gerd Kohbieter[69] genannt, der auch eine erfolgreiche Tournee durch Nordchina machen konnte. Lotte Sommer, Miss Beatrice,[70] das Robertsen Duo, das vortreffliche Palotay Duo, Little Doll, Miss Tessy, Pasqual, Inge Blumenstein waren die Vertreter Terpsichores. Helga Rosenbaum, Fried and Fried, Bill Brady konnten auch Engagements jenseits der Garden Bridge finden. Erwin Engel[71] begruendete die Heimkunststelle, Ossi Lewin, Hans Baer,[72] Martin Jacoby und Heinz Ganther versuchten einen Zusammenschluss aller Kuenstler, im „Artist Club", der mit einer ausgezeichneten |94| Werbeveranstaltung an die Oeffentlichkeit trat. Aus der Hongkewer Arbeitsgemeinschaft und dem Artist Club wurde schliesslich die „Ejas" (European Jewish Artists Society) unter dem Praesidium von Ossi Lewin, die aber ihren Namen im Laufe der Zeit in ihrer Art nicht treu blieb, sondern lediglich eine Klique von Protektionskuenstlern betreute.

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66 Hilde Friedmann (c. 1909–?) was a singer at the opera in Mannheim; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 165 f. Walter Friedmann was employed at the Mannheim National Theater. In Shanghai, he became manager of the Komödie theater and directed many performances, acting in several. He also worked for the radio station XMHA; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 166.

67 Ballan (actually Hans Berger; 1910–?) was born in Berlin, where worked as a pianist and percussionist. In Shanghai, he also performed as a magician; cf. ibid., 160.

68 The Austrian Schnitzer (c. 1909–?) was not a trained actor. He performed as a telepath, graphologist, and phrenologist, and managed the Alcock Road camp for two years. After the war, he settled in Australia and changed his name to Denis F. Carver; cf. ibid., 178 f.

69 Gerhard (Gérard) Kohbieter (1922–1995) hailed from Berlin. In Shanghai he worked as a magician and book seller. After the war he emigrated to the United States, where he worked as a magician under the name Gérard Slaxon. He eventually settled in Berlin; cf. Hochstadt, Exodus, 37–39, 263, passim.

70 Beatrice Lewinsohn (Lewinson); cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 173.

71 Engel (1881–1946) was successful on cabaret stages in Vienna. In Shanghai he was a member of the actors' troupe Die sieben Schauspieler. Engel died in Shanghai; cf. Hochstadt, Exodus, 163 f.

72 Hans Bär had studied piano in Berlin; Artur Schnabel was among his teachers. Having won the renowned Ibach prize, he was regarded as one of Shanghai's most famous musicians; cf. Martina Eory, Zur Rolle der Musik für zentraleuropäische jüdische Flüchtlinge in der Diaspora Shanghai, 1939–1949. M.A. thesis, University of Vienna 2009, 40 f. <https://othes.univie.ac.at/6022/> (August 8, 2016).

Immerhin begann mit der Gruendung der Ejas die Theaterperiode der Immigration. Karl Bodan,[73] Friedmann, Dr. Dreyfuss [sic], der inzwischen unter die Buch- und Kunsthaendler gegangen ist und in Hongkew ein dementsprechendes Geschaeft eroeffnete, waren die Regisseure. Wir sahen beachtliche Auffuehrungen, wie den „Nathan", „Oedipus", „Dr. Praetorius", „Die Nacht zum 17. April", „Spiel im Schloss" usw.[74] Leider hatte die Ejas aber auch viele Nieten zu verzeichnen und das Publikum verlor das Vertrauen. Innere Unstimmigkeiten liessen ein gedeihliches Arbeiten nicht mehr aufkommen. Bodan machte sich selbstaendig und startete mit Riesenerfolg „X.Y.Z."[75] mit Melchior und der Perlhoefter.[76] Letzterer begruendete nun das „Ensemble" und brachte mit grossem Erfolg „Arm wie eine Kirchenmaus"[77] heraus. Ganz eigene Wege war Boris Sapiro[78] gegangen, den man nicht als Immigranten bezeichnen kann. Er schuf sich sein eigenes Ensemble und eine eigene Buehne. Neben vielen Misserfolgen waren das Lustspiel „Die Killeberger" von Bukofzer,[79] das von Metis[80] geschriebene Emigrationsstueck „Ka-

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73 Bodan was married to Olga Hajegg-Bodan (also Hajek; 1899–1979), an actress, operetta singer, and director from Prague. In December 1941 the couple left Shanghai for Australia, where they managed a theater for several years. They eventually returned to Vienna.

74 The plays staged were *Nathan der Weise* by G. E. Lessing, *König Oedipus* by Sophocles, *Dr. med. Hiob Prätorius* (1929) by Curt Goetz, *Die Nacht zum 17. April* (1932) by Lajos Zilahy, and *Spiel im Schloss* (1926) by Ferenc Molnár.

75 *X Y Z. Spiel zu Dreien in drei Aufzügen* (1928) by Klabund.

76 About Fritz Melchior (1897–?), see Document 155. Ursula Perlhöfter (1913–2001) married Melchior in Shanghai. She acted in his Ensemble theater group, and also worked as a nurse. After the war the couple lived in the United States; cf. <http://abacus.bates.edu/muskie-archives/EADFindingAids/SJOH.html> (September 26, 2016).

77 A comedy by Ladislaus Fodor (1928).

78 Sapiro (c. 1910–?) hailed from Poland. His Sapiro-Bühne in Shanghai staged boulevard theater plays and Yiddish plays, some of which he wrote himself. He appeared in most of his productions; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 178. Sapiro also ran the Boris Only Cash Café (Bei Boris), documented in the Werner von Boltenstern photographs collection; cf. <http://digitalcollections.lmu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/sjrc/id/238/rec/14> (September 26, 2016).

79 Max (Brandt-) Bukofzer (c. 1907–1945) was an operetta singer from Germany. In Shanghai, he became an actor and the author of several theater plays; cf. Frithjof Trapp et al. (eds.), Handbuch des deutschsprachigen Exiltheaters 1933–1945, Munich 1999, vol. 2, 1, 113. Bukofzer died during an air raid in Shanghai.

80 Berthold Metis (1902–1984) hailed from Rathenow. After his release from imprisonment in Sachsenhausen, he left Germany in December 1938. In Shanghai he worked as a journalist, a cabaret artist, and an actor in Boris Sapiro's group. In August 1947 he and his family settled in Eastern Germany; cf. ibid., 660.

merad Frau", das von Siegelberg und Schubert[81] stammende Tendenzstueck aus der Emigration „Urlaub vom Jenseits" grosse Serienerfolge. Anfang 42 startete Robert Weiss[82] in seinem „Die Buehne" benannten Unternehmen Schnitzlers „Fraeulein Julie" und Walter Friedmannn versuchte im Ensemble „Die Komoedie" ein Kollektiv, das unter anderem mit der Eisler-Operette „Hanni geht tanzen" einen grossen kuenstlerischen Erfolg buchen konnte.[83] Aber leider bleiben die finanziellen Erfolge aus und so stehen wir zu Beginn des Herbstes 1942 eigentlich ohne Theater da. Wir haben hier natuerlich nur einen kurzen Abriss des Buehnenschaffens gegeben. Mancher Nachwuchs wurde entdeckt, so u.a. Marion Lissner und die begabte Beatrice Lewinsohn. Die junge Eva Schwarcz,[84] eine unserer staerksten Begabungen, verliess leider Shanghai, ebenso wie auch Bodan. Bei Sapiro wirkten noch Felix Loeschner,[85] Georg Feldmann, Harry Walden, Fritz Heller,[86] das Ehepaar Jacoby, Scheige und Mark.

Weit leichter als die Buehnenkuenstler hatten es die Musiker, soweit sie der leichten Muse huldigten und zum Tanze spielten. Gute Musiker sind in Shanghai stets von den vielen Bars und Nachtklubs gesucht und mancher

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81 Hans Schubert (also Morgenstern or Wiener; 1905–1965) was a merchant and playwright from Vienna. After his release from imprisonment in Dachau he reached Shanghai, where he was a prolific writer of theater plays; together with Mark Siegelberg he wrote a number of successfully staged pieces. Schubert also worked for the radio station XGDN. In 1947 he returned to Vienna; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 179.

82 Robert Weiss (-Cyla; c. 1912–?) hailed from Vienna. In Shanghai he presented texts, mainly by Jewish authors living in Shanghai. He began to direct theater plays only after the war, e.g. *Die Masken fallen* in 1946; he eventually returned to Vienna; cf. Michael Philipp, Exiltheater in Shanghai 1939–1947; in: Trapp, Handbuch, vol. 1, 457–476, here 466.

83 Edmund Eysler (1874–1949) was a Viennese Jewish composer; his operetta *Hanni geht tanzen* premiered in 1916; cf. Anonymous, Edmund Eysler, in: Thomas Gnedt (ed.), Operetten-Lexikon <http://www.operetten-lexikon.info/?menu=182&lang=1> (February 11, 1016).

84 Actress Schwarcz (neé Baruch; 1920–1966) hailed from Berlin. She and her husband managed to leave Shanghai for Australia in 1941. As a member of the communist party even before the war, she settled in East Berlin in 1947 where she acted on stage and in films, and also directed theater plays. In 1961 she moved to Western Germany; cf. Trapp, Handbuch, vol. 2, 2, 858.

85 Löschner was an Austrian cabaret performer and a member of the Shanghai actors' troupe Die sieben Schauspieler; cf. ibid., 899.

86 Heller (1893–1966) was an actor and comedian from Vienna. In 1939 after his release from imprisonment in Dachau, he emigrated to Shanghai where he became a member of the actors' troupe Die sieben Schauspieler. In 1951 he returned to Austria.

Immigrant konnte sich hier durchsetzen. Als Kapelle verdient Eddy Weber mit seiner Band erwaehnt zu werden, der nach Tientsin fortengagiert wurde. Eis, Zinkower, Rosenow, Stern, Ruff, Oschitzki, Reiss, Winternitz[87] waren Namen, die im Shanghaier Vergnuegungsgewerbe einen guten Klang hatten.

Weit schwerer hatten es die Vertreter der ernsten Musik, aber sie waren fuer die Immigration von grosser Bedeutung, denn sie fanden |95| Einlass in die beste Gesellschaft Shanghais, sie wurden zu Hauskonzerten und Gastspielen herangezogen, wir finden ihre Namen in den Programmen des Municipalorchesters, des Lyzeums, des neugegruendeten Shanghaier Philharmonischen Orchesters, bei Kirchenkonzerten und grossen Veranstaltungen. Ein grosser Teil von ihnen uebt ausserdem eine bedeutende Lehrtaetigkeit aus. Hans Baer, Professor Wittenberg,[88] Fraenkel,[89] Henry Margolinsky [sic],[90]

87 Carl Winternitz (1885–1961?) was a composer and violinist from Vienna. He arrived in Shanghai in 1940, where he eventually founded the Kapelle Winternitz, which played light music at dances and other events, and the symphonic Orchester Winternitz. He was also an active member in the Shanghai Musicians Association of Stateless Refugees union; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Carl Maximilian Winternitz, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00002830?wcmsID=0003> (October 31, 2016). Except for Stern, the other musicians are also included in this data base.

88 Alfred Wittenberg (1880–1952) was a noted musician from Berlin, where he was first violin at the Königliches Opernhaus. He taught violin and piano at the Shanghai Conservatory and at the University, and remained in Shanghai after the war; cf. Xu Buzeng, Jews and the Musical Life of Shanghai, in: Goldstein, The Jews of China, vol. 1, 230–238, here 234 f.

89 Wolfgang Fraenkel (1897–1983) studied music and law in Berlin. Until 1933 he was a judge at the local appeal court, and thereafter made his living as a musician. In Shanghai he became a member of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra in 1940 and taught at the Conservatory. In 1947, emigrated to the United States; cf. Christian Utz, Wolfgang Fraenkel, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001444> (September 28, 2016).

90 Margolinski (1902–1980) studied piano and conducting in Berlin. In 1923 he was engaged with the orchestra in Bamberg, where he met and married the opera singer Irene Seidl (1899–1980), who had also studied in Berlin. In 1933 the couple moved to Berlin, where she was a member of the choir of the Jüdischer Kulturbund. In Shanghai Henri became head of the EJAS, taught at the Conservatory, and managed philharmonic concerts in which he performed as the pianist or conductor. Irene taught singing at the University of Shanghai. In 1949 the couple settled in the United States; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Irene Margolinski, in: ibid., <http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson _00005297> (September 28, 2016).

Lisa Robitschek, Sabine Rapp,[91] Rosl Albach-Gerstl,[92] der leider zu frueh verstorbene Pianist Wilhelm Loewitt sind Namen, die jeder kunstverstaendige Shanghailaender kennt. Einen besonderen Platz nimmt der bereits in Wien beruehmte Violinvirtuose Ferdinand Adler[93] ein, ein Kuenstler wirklich grossen internationalen Formates. Josef Fruchter trat neuerdings mit gutem Erfolg an die Shanghaier Oeffentlichkeit. Irene Seidl-Margolinsky, Fritz Philippsborn,[94] Margit Langer-Kleemann[95] [sic] sind Namen, die ueber den Immigrationskreis bekannt geworden sind. Fritz Prager[96] und Leo Schoenbach[97] betaetigen sich als Kapellmeister von Operetten im Rahmen der „Russian Opera". Unter Pacis[98] Leitung wirkten als Gaeste bei den Munici-

91 Rapp (Rappaport; 1910–?) was born in Blumenau (Silesia); cf. Anonymous, Sabine Rapp, in: ibid., <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003388> (September 28, 2016).

92 Gerstl (Rosa Gerstel; 1898–?) was a Vienna-born soprano; cf. Anonymous, Rosl Albach-Gerstel, in: ibid., <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00004977> (September 28, 2016).

93 Adler (1903–?) was born in Klausenburg (today Cluj-Napoca), and studied in Vienna violin; cf. Walter Pass/Gerhard Scheit/Wilhelm Svoboda, Orpheus im Exil. Die Vertreibung der österreichischen Musik von 1938 bis 1945, Vienna 1995, 393.

94 Born in Berlin, Philippsborn (1915–2006) came via Palestine to Shanghai, where he was a popular basso. In 1953, he immigrated to Australia; cf. Barbara von der Lühe, Die Emigration deutschsprachiger Musikschaffender in das britische Mandatsgebiet Palästina. Ihr Beitrag zur Entwicklung des israelischen Rundfunks, der Oper und der Musikpädagogik seit 1933, Frankfurt/M. 1999, 140, 149.

95 Langer-Klemann (c. 1908–?) was a trained soprano from Breslau. In Shanghai, she founded a women's choir that backed opera and operetta performances. After the war, she settled in the United States; cf. Aufbau, October 15, 1948, 32.

96 Prager (1883–1962) was born in Kattowitz (today Katowice). As a trained pianist, he was engaged at several music theaters in Germany from 1901 onward. In Shanghai he played piano on various occasions, but due to his poor health he eventually focused on instrumenting operettas for Shanghai stages. After the war, he briefly stayed in Germany and Ecuador before settling in Berlin; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Fritz Prager, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003385> (September 28, 2016).

97 Schönbach (1892–1945) was a cellist, pianist, and musical director from Halle. From 1935 on he appeared at concerts organized by the Kulturbund and at Leipzig's Jewish minor arts theater Der bunte Karren. He came to Shanghai in 1939 and became a popular director of operas and operettas. Schönbach died in Shanghai, two days before the premiere of the *Cavalleria Rusticana* (see Document 160); cf. Specht, Zwischen Ghetto, 159.

98 Mario Paci (1878–1946) was an Italian conductor who lived in Shanghai since 1918.

palorchesterkonzerten noch Bella Resek, Max Warschauer und Ernst Krasso[99] mit. Eine Kuenstlerin individueller Bedeutung ist die junge Pianistin Mirjam Magasi, die in zwei Konzerten vor einem internationalen Publikum Proben ihres Koennens ablegte, wie auch besonders der sehr begabte Robert Kohner.

Als Buehnenbildner betaetigten sich Walter Kornitzer, Hans Cassel und Fritz Krauss.

Der Versuch, ein Emigrantenorchester zu begruenden, wurde zwei Male unternommen. Im Jahre 39 gruendete sich das „Kammerorchester 1939", das immer weiter ausgebaut wurde und als voller Klangkoerper mit einer Spitzenleistung im Eastern-Theatre unter dem Gastdirigenten Dr. Marcuse[100] an die Oeffentlichkeit trat. Als zweiter stellte Albert Einzig ein Orchester zusammen, das bei einem Gartenkonzert zwar einen Achtungserfolg erringen konnte, jedoch nicht in der Lage war, sich zu behaupten. Erna Kempe gruendete dann eine Unterhaltungskapelle, die ganz den Geschmack unseres Publikums traf und daher vielfach bei Veranstaltungen herangezogen wurde.

Die Ejas hatte infolge verschiedener Misserfolge ihre Theatertaetigkeit vollends eingestellt. Dr. Dreyfuss veranstaltete einige sehr interessante Konzerte mit den bereits genannten Spitzenkuenstlern. Er konnte sogar als Dozent an der Shanghai Universitaet wirken und eine Anzahl von Vorlesungen mit praktischen Beispielen halten, zu denen er ebenfalls Kuenstler des Immigrationskreises heranzog. Die geschaeftliche Leitung der Ejas hat A. Robitschek uebernommen als Nachfolger Bruno Pragers.

Unter den jiddischen Kuenstlern war es vor allem Rajah Somina [sic],[101] die sich einen grossen Anhaengerkreis schaffen konnte und immer wieder mit brausendem Beifall begruesst wurde. Hersch Friedmann[102] wurde als

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99 The tenor Krasso (1890–?) was employed at various theaters in Germany before he came to Berlin, where he joined the Kulturbund in 1936. From June 1939 on he was a member of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra; cf. Anonymous, Ernst Krasso, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003348> (September 28, 2016).

100 Erich Marcuse (1907–?) was a surgeon in Berlin. According to the Report of the Medical Board of the CAEJR, 12 (see Document 76), he continued practicing medicine in Shanghai. On various occasions he appeared on stage playing piano or conducting.

101 According to Document 149, Raja (Raya) Zomina grew up in Vilna, where she acted, sung, and danced on stage since childhood. Later she joined the renowned Warsaw Yiddish Art Theater. She arrived in Shanghai in 1941 and quickly became known as an actress; yet above all she was a popular singer of Yiddish and Hasidic songs. Information regarding her life after the Shanghai exile is not available.

102 Friedmann (c. 1897–?) was a cantor and singer from Breslau. In Shanghai he became a popular Yiddish folk singer, actor, and director; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 165.

„jiddischer Volksliedersaenger" beliebt. Gretl [sic] Kleiner[103] betaetigte sich sowohl als jiddische Chansonette wie auch Wiener Liedersaengerin sehr |96| erfolgreich. Mex [sic] Retzler[104] war ein hervorragender Begleiter der jiddischen Kuenstler und erwies sich ausserdem als guter Instrumentator und Kapellmeister. Einen Versuch, die Kuenstlerschaft zu aktivieren, unternahm auch Walter Lewens mit der Gruendung seiner „Pro Arte". So gut seine Veranstaltungen aufgezogen waren, so sorgfaeltig Lewens die Programmauswahl traf, es gelang auch ihm nicht, die wirtschaftliche Fundamentierung zu begruenden.

Aus der grossen Reihe unserer Kuenstler wollen wir noch Bill Dago, Inge Michelsohn, Hans Bergmann, Siegfried Katznol-Cardo,[105] sowie den vortrefflichen Pianisten und Lehrer Sally Gutkind und die treue „Begleiterin" Anneliese Wolfers, Olga Hajegg, Richard Stein und Max Guenther nennen sowie Monica Herrnfeld.[106]

Einen schweren Existenzkampf hatten besonders die Literaten zu bestehen. Denn fuer sie fand sich kein Boden. Ihre Taetigkeit mussten sie auf die Verfassung einiger Buehnenstuecke beschraenken. Eines der staerksten Werke war unzweifelhaft das von Dr. Mark Siegelberg und Hans Wiener[107] geschriebene Drama „Die Masken fallen". Das ebenfalls von diesen Autoren stammende Emigrationsstueck „Fremde Erde" konnte weniger gefallen, wohingegen das bereits erwaehnte Schauspiel „Urlaub vom Jenseits" wieder ein Erfolg wurde. Der produktivste Buehnenschriftsteller ist Max Brandt-Bukofzer, der ausser seinen „Killebergern" „Ewiges Volk", „Trouble bei Blumenstein", „Wer weint um Hagemann", „Die Frau, die man uebersah" schrieb, sowie eine

103 Her first name is sometimes rendered as Gretel, yet most sources have Grete or Greta.

104 The pianist Max (Mendel) Retzler (1901–?) was born in Kielce (Poland); cf. Anonymous, Max Retzler, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003391> (September 29, 2016).

105 S. Katznol or S. Cardo (c. 1898–?) was an actor from Berlin; cf. Trapp, Handbuch, vol. 2, 1, 492.

106 Herrnfeld (1913–1980) was the daughter of one of the co-founders of the famous Gebrüder-Herrnfeld-Theater in Berlin. This became the main stage of the Jüdischer Kulturbund from 1935 on, and Monica appeared here as an actor and dancer until she left for Shanghai in 1939. After the war Monica (Herrnfeld-) Oppenheim settled in the United States; cf. Marline Otte, Eine Welt für sich? Bürger im Jargontheater von 1890 bis 1920, in: Andreas Gotzmann/Rainer Liedtke/Till van Rahden (eds.), Juden, Bürger, Deutsche, Tübingen 2001, 121–146.

107 This was Schubert, see above, n. 81.

Neudramatisierung des „Pojaz“[108] vornahm. Auch Sapiro betaetigte sich als Buehnenautor, seine wirkungsvollsten Stuecke duerften „Extraausgabe“ und „Pander Bellachoff“[109] gewesen sein.

Die bildende Kunst ist zwar wirklich international, aber gerade ihre Ausuebenden beduerfen einer besonderen Individualitaet, um sich durchzusetzen. Shanghai ist kulturell ein undankbarer Boden. Zudem kommt, dass der bildende Kuenstler eine geraume Zeit braucht, ehe er in der neuen, ihm voellig fremden Heimat den Stil gefunden hat. Umso erfreulicher ist die Feststellung, dass eine ganze Anzahl von bildenden Kuenstlern der Immigration die Anerkennung des internationalen Publikums fanden. Die Firmen „Modern Homes“[110] und „Western Arts Gallery“[111] halfen durch Ausstellungen,[112] den Weg in die Oeffentlichkeit zu ebnen. Jacoby,[113] Bloch,[114] Fred Fredden,[115]

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108 *Der Pojaz* (1905) is the posthumously published and most famous novel by Karl Emil Franzos (1848–1904).

109 A printed announcement of a public performance reads “Belachoff;” cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 74.

110 Formerly (The) Modern Home enterprise, it sold its own furniture and interior design. Between 1934 and 1936 the owner was Victor Sassoon. Richard Paulick (see ch. 7, n. 69) was its manager from 1933, and from 1937 on its owner; cf. Eduard Kögel, Zwei Poelzigschüler in der Emigration. Rudolf Hamburger und Richard Paulick zwischen Shanghai und Ost-Berlin (1930–1955). Ph.D. dissertation, University of Weimar 2006, <https://e-pub.uni-weimar.de/opus4/files/929/diss+koegel.pdf>, 149 (September 29, 2016).

111 The owner was the bibliophile Heinz Egon Heinemann (c. 1912–?) from Berlin; cf. Freyeisen, Shanghai, 435. He owned book shops in Shanghai, Beijing, and Nanjing. After the war he remained in China, but was imprisoned on charge of espionage in 1951. In 1953, Heinemann settled in Canada.

112 See Document 137.

113 Hans Jacoby (1900–1984) studied arts in Dresden. He reached Shanghai via the Netherlands in 1940. In 1947, he settled in the United States and wrote a diary, which is kept along with other personal documents in the LBI, Hans Jacoby Collection, ME 774; cf. <https://archive.org/details/hansjacobycollec01jaco> (September 29, 2016).

114 David Ludwig Bloch (1910–2002) studied porcelain painting in Munich. After his release from imprisonment in Dachau, he fled to Shanghai in 1940 where he produced graphic reproductions and works in other genres. After the war the settled in the United States; cf. Messmer, Jewish Wayfarers, 178.

115 Fred Goldberg (also Fred Fredden or Fred Fredden-Goldberg; 1889–1973) was an autodidact painter and printmaker from Berlin who taught arts in Shanghai. After the war he settled in the United States.

Heimann,[116] Beermann, Wollstein, Schwarcz,[117] Fischer und der Bildhauer Peter Paul Fechner waren die Vertreter dieser Kunstgattung. Bloch, neuerdings Michael Brenner und Fischer sind wohl als die staerksten Begabungen anzusehen. Uebrigens betaetigte sich auch Melchior als Graphiker, er verlegte sich allerdings hauptsaechlich auf die Gebrauchsgraphik. Dr. Franz Saxl trat mit einer Ausstellung bei „Arts and Books" (Inhaber Dr. Dreyfuss) [sic] mit einer vielbeachteten Ausstellung hervor, ein Kuenstler, der Shanghai und das chinesische Motiv sehr realistisch festhaelt.
|97| Peter Paul Herrnstadt beschaeftigte sich anfangs ebenfalls mit Malerei, ehe er nach dem Grundsatz, „Kunst geht nach Brot" einer der besten und begehrtesten Innenarchitekten Shanghais wurde. Herrnstadt ist ein Schueler Anton von Werners,[118] mit dem Rom-Preis ausgestattet und Lehrer von Grace Vanderbilt gewesen.

Unsere Kuenstler hatten es besonders schwer, sich irgendwie durchzusetzen. Keine rechte Buehne, kein Vortragssaal, keine Moeglichkeit, richtig zu proben, taegliche Nahrungssorgen liessen ein Kunstleben trotz der groessten Anstrengungen und ehrlichsten Bemuehungen eigentlich nicht erstehen. Dennoch aber gelang es, Leistungen zu vollbringen, die bei gerechter Wertung als durchaus ueber dem Durchschnitt stehend bezeichnet werden muessen. Und, wie bereits erwaehnt, gelang es einigen, sich bei dem so schwierigen internationalen Publikum Shanghais durchzusetzen. Sicherlich harrt unserer Kuenstler noch eine grosse kulturelle Aufgabe, die sie loesen werden, wenn stabilisierte Verhaeltnisse im Immigrationskreis es zulassen.

116 Max Heimann (1909–?) hailed from Berlin. After the war he settled in the United States.

117 Josef Schwarcz, born in Vienna, was a scenic painter in Berlin before he escaped to Shanghai. He and his wife Eva Schwarcz left Shanghai for Australia in 1941; cf. Peter Vanlaw, Who Were the Shanghai Twelve?, <http://forthelifeofme-film.com/2016/06/01/the-shanghai-dozen/> (October 4, 2016).

118 Von Werner (1842–1915) was one of the most noted painters of the German Empire. He made official historical paintings and taught at the Hochschule der Bildenden Künste in Berlin.

Document 68

Horst Levin[119]
June 25, 1941[120]
Radio broadcast (transcript), 3 pages.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/42

Mit dem Mikrophon um die Welt

Trompetensignal … Achtung Achtung, hier spricht der Sender XMHA[121] auf 600 Kc. Guten Abend liebe Hoererinnen und Hoerer, in einigen Minuten beginnen wir mit unserer heutigen Sondersendung vom Dachgarten Mascot und schalten um auf das Mascot. Bitte bleiben Sie am Apparat, es lohnt sich. Und viel Spass fuer den heutigen Abend … Haloh [sic], Hallo Mascot, fertig zur Ubertragung [sic], wir haben umgescaltet [sic] – … Trompetensignal … Macot [sic]: Achtung Achtung, hier spricht der Sender XMHA auf Sonderwelle vom Dachgarten Mascot. Wir beginnen nun mit unserer Sondersendung. Trompetensignal.

Mit unserm Mikrophon sind wir heute auf Shanghais schoenstes Dachgartenetablissement gezogen, wo soeben die grosse Radioschau startet. Eine grosse Menge erwartungsvoller Menscgen [sic] ist heute hier erschienen, um einmal auf einige Stunden all die Sorgen und den Trubel des Alltages zu vergessen und wir wollen alle unsere Gaetse [sic], die heute so zahlreich hier [sind,] auf eine Blitzreise mitnehmen, die uns in eine schoenere Welt fuehre[n] soll, wo man nichts von Kriegswirren und Noeten weiss, wo die schoenen Kuenste regieren, die uns ueber alle Sorgen hinwegtroesten.

Nun lassen Sie sich von uns einladen und unsere neue Radioanlage aus dem Jahre 1950, die wir Ihnen heute schon praesentieren, wird Ihnen die Schoenheiten unserer Erde vor Augen fuehren, unserer Erde, die heute von Kriegswirren tobt und von der wir hoffen, dass sie einmal wieder fuer alle Menschen Platz haben wird …

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119 About Levin, see ch. 2, n. 6.

120 This document has no date; however, the announced Sondersendung on the occasion of a hospital fundraising rally took place on this date. For further information cf. Eber, Wartime, 121 f.

121 Both Chinese and international radio stations were located in the city, authorized by the SMC. Among the international ones, the XMHA was the Armed Forces station, and was operated by the United States military, but used by the British forces as well. The XGDN was a British radio station which had a daily program in German.

Hunderte von elegenatne [sic] Menschen sind heute im Mascot erschienen, die erwartungsvoll der Dinge harren, die da komme[n] sollen. Eine lange Reihe von eleganten Autos hat die Gaeste von nah und fern herbeigebracht, wie soeben eingetroffene Gqetse[122] berichten, haben die Rickschahkulis an der Gardenbridge ihre Preise um das Doppelte fuer die Herfahrt erhoeht um die Situation auszunutzen … und viele haben wieder umkehren muessen, da die Plaetze des Mascot bis auf dem [sic] letzten Platz gefuellt sind. Ein Riesenprogramm der Ueberraschungen wird jetzt hier abrollen, in bunter Reihenfolge werden wir Ihnen Unterhaltung aller Art bieten. Leider konnten wir unsere Fernsehanlage heute hier nicht installieren, um auch denen, die heute nicht hier erschienen sind, diesen einmaligen Genuss zu uebermitteln. Aber die Gesellschaft zur Verhuetung von Ein-, Aus- und Ehebruechen hat heute die Fernsehanlage in Beschlag gelegt und ich kann Ihnen verraten, dass die Fernstrahler heute hierhergerichtet sind, und alles was hier vorgeht beobachtet wird. Also recht vorsichtig sein …

Bevor wir nun mit unserer Blitzrevue „In 60 Minuten um die Erde" starten, bringen wir Ihnen, wie sich das fuer eine ordentliche Rundfunkstation gehoert, Nachrichten. Unsere Informationen stammen alle aus sichersten Quellen, die Hongkewer Schmonzes-und-Bonkesagentur[123] hat uns mit reichlichem Material versorgt.

Aus Shanghai wird berichtet, dass die chinesischen und englischen Behoerden, wegen der immer groesser werdenden Anzahl von deutschsprechenden Kriesen [sic] dazu uebergehen, von allen Beamten neben der chinesischen und englischen, in absehbarer Zeit auch die |2| Beherrschung der deutschen Sprache zu verlangen. Die Wechselstuben, die Parkwaechter, die Rikschakulis werden den Anfang machen und Zwangskurse in deutscher Sprache einfuehren. In der Verwaltung toben gegenwaertig schwere Kaempfe wegen des Dialektes. Es scheint jedoch, dass man sich dazu entschliessen wird, den wiener Dialekt zu waehlen, da er fuer die Chinesen wegen seiner verblueffenden Aehnlichkeit mit ihrer Sprache leichter zu erlernen ist.

Wir leben in der Zeit des Kampfes. Kampf ist gegenwaertig aktuell und da unser, nach einem beruehmten Ausspruch kleines aber miesses [sic] Voelkchen auch was zum kaempfen haben will, haben wir Wahlkampf. Jawohl, erbittert wird um Stimmen und Mandate gerungen und gekaempft. Eine Anzahl von Parteien bewirbt sich um die Sitze, dass sich jedoch die betrogenen Ehemaenner zu einer Partei zusammengeschlossen haben und ihre Vertre-

122 Gaeste.

123 Both words are Yiddish. "Schmonzes" means inconsequential or silly talk, and "bonkes" are rumors.

tung im neuen Parlament haben wollen, ist eine Meldung, die noch bestaetigt werden muss.

Von einer begruessenswerten Neuerung haben wir noch zu berichten, die das beste Licht auf den Weitblick und die Geschaeftstuechtigkeit einiger Unternehmer [werfen] wird. Um einem wirklich dringenden oeffentlichen Beduerfniss abzuhelfen hat sich hier ein Unternehmen etabliert, dass [sic] sich damit befasst, voreilig und nicht gerade im Himmel geschlossene Ehen in kuerzester Zeit zu scheiden. Diese Firma arbeitet jedoch nach voellig neuen, noch nie dagewesenen Prinzipien. Eine Reihe der erfahrensten Ehebrecher sind hier taetig, die jedem Wunsche ueberdruessiger Ehepartner beiderlei Geschlechts gerecht werden koennen. Obwohl dies Unternehmen erst seit kurzer Zeit besteht, hat es schon die besten Erfolge aufzuweisen. Die Ehebrecher der Eheverwertungsgesellschaft ohne jede Haftung sind fuer die naechste Zeit derartig mit Auftraegen ueberhaeuft, dass eine Betriebsstockung eingetreten ist, zumal einige der tuechtigsten Ehebrecher bei Ausuebeung [sic] ihres gefahrvollen Berufes Betriebsunfaelle erlitten haben.

Die Firma betreibt ausserdem eine Reparaturabteilung, die alle in die Brueche gegangenen Ehen garantiert wieder nach neuestem Verfahren leimt und kittet. Fuer Erfolg wird garantiert. Im Abbonnement [sic] ermaessigte Preise. Da der Betrieb dieser Firma in absehbarer Zeit bedeutend erweitert werden soll, werden Bewerbungen von Personen, die glauben, dass sie den Anforderungen entsprechen, entgegengenommen. Laengere Erfahrung auf diesem Gebiet ist ein Vorteil fuer die Auswahl des Postens.

Wie uns weiter gemeldet wird, hat die chinesische Regierung einen Kredit von |3| 5 Millionen engl. Pfund erhalten, um einige wichtige Reformen einzufuehren. So sollen Z.B. alle Chinesen ab 1. September nur noch europaeisch gekleidet gehen und die chin. Nationaltracht soll abgeschafft werden. Wie wir dazu erfahren, sollen einige Stoffhaendler bereits die Verhandlungen betreffs der Lieferungen aufgenommen haben. Die Regierung laesst sich jedoch noch taeglich weitere Preisangebote machen, da die Angebote taeglich billiger werden.

Schiedsgericht.[124]

Und nun noch eine Meldung aus dem Kunstleben. Nach seinen Senstionserfolgen [sic] ist der Schauspieler, Regisseur und Dramaturg {Boris Sapiro} dazu uebergegangen, seinen Auffuehrungen einen groesseren Rahmen als bisher zu geben. Er hat daher den Race Course[125] fuer ein 14 taegiges Gastspiel gemietet. Er will dort die Premiere seiner Bearbeitung der Oprentri-

124 This word appears here without any obvious relevance.

125 The Race Course (today People's Park) was located in the city center. Horse races and betting were extremely popular among the wealthy population; some members of

logie [sic] „Der Ring der Nibelungen“ von Richard Wagner herausbringen. Der so vielseitige Kuenstler wird das sonst 4 Abende fuellende Werk selbst bearbeiten und was davon ueberigbleibt [sic], in eigener Regie und Sprache auffuehren. Er teilt mit, dass er dabei den Siegfried, den Drachen und die Rheintoechter selbst verkoerpern will, auch wird er das Orchester des S.M.C. selbst dirigieren. Man kann ihm und dem Publikum zu dieser Vorstellung alles gute wuenschen. Bei schlechtem Wetter sollen die Auffuehrungen mit etwa 300 Mitwirkenden auf der Buehne 18 Broadway vor sich gehen …

Soweit unser Nachrichtendienst. Weitere Meldungen entnehmen sie aus unserer Presse.

Doch nun wollen wir Sie nicht laenger auf die Folter spannen, gleich wird unsere Reise losgehen. Hier der Fahrplan: Von Shanghai nach Ungarn, von Ungarn nach Italien, von Italien nach England, dann weiter nach Russland. Hier werden wir Europa verlassen und kommen nach Indien, Arabien, Palaestina, Amerika und von dort wieder zurueck nach Shanghai.

Document 69

Ernst Pollak[126]
April 27, 1941
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 11.
Department of Asian Studies, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Das Haus des Kindes

Zu Beginn des Monates Maerz wurde die Emigrantenschaft durch die Mitteilung ueberrascht, dass ein Lieblingswunsch des Ehrensekretaers des I.C., Paul *Komor*, zufolge der Grosszuegigkeit Sir Victor *Sassoons* in Kuerze in Erfuellung gehen duerfte. Es handelte sich um die seit langem geplante Idee der Errichtung des „*I.C. Nursery and Children's Home*“, welches Kleinkindern und insbesondere Kindern von in Arbeit stehenden Eltern ein gesichertes, unter Aufsicht erfahrener Paedagoginnen stehendes Tagesheim bieten soll.

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the Baghdadi community, like David and Sir Victor Sassoon and Ellis Kadoorie, were members of the Shanghai Race Club.

126 The journalist Pollak (c. 1894–?) wrote articles for several Shanghai papers, but mainly for the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, see Documents 69, 161 and 165.

Nun ist dieser Wunsch in Erfuellung gegangen. In der Tongshan Road 494 wurde vor wenigen Tagen ein fuer Emigranten-Kleinkinder bestimmtes Tageskinderheim eroeffnet, welches seiner Ausstattung nach jedem europaeischen Kindersanatorium wuerdig Konkurrenz bieten koennte. Viele Eltern, die bisher nur sorgenvoll einer schwer gefundenen Beschaeftigung nachgehen konnten, da sie ihre Lieblinge der Obhut fremder Menschen anvertrauen mussten, koennen nun sorgenfrei ihre Dienstobliegenheiten versehen.

Das Personal

Das neu errichtete Heim steht unter der Leitung der gepruefteN Kindergaertnerin Frau Liese *Aschendorf*,[127] die frueher an der Nordsee ein eigenes Kinderheim leitete und vorher durch Jahre einem Kinderheim in Breslau als Leiterin vorstand. Als Assistentinnen sind ihr die Damen Ruth ###, sowie Lizzi *Weiss* und Ruth *Miedzwinski* als Volontaerinnen zugeteilt. In der Kueche hat Frau *Kamenowich*, als Housekeeper Herr *Mandel* Beschaeftigung gefunden. Durch die Errichtung des Heimes wurde also gleichzeitig einer Anzahl von Emigranten die Eingliederung in den Arbeitsprozess Shanghais ermoeglicht.

Das hervorstechendste und fuer Shanghai augenfaelligste Moment ist die tadellose Sauberkeit und die einwandfreie Hygiene des unter der Aufsicht des Arztes *Dr. Jacobson* stehenden Heimes, der alle Kinder, sowohl bei der Ankunft als auch beim Verlassen auf ihren Gesundheitszustand hin untersucht. Ein eigenes, modern eingerichtetes Ambulanzzimmer steht dem Arzt hierbei zur Verfuegung. Vor wenigen Monaten bekam man in Shanghai einen Kinderfilm, der sich „Snow White" betitelte, zu Gesicht. An diesen Film, der uns die Miniatureinrichtungen im Maerchenland der sieben Zwerge vorfuehrte, wird man erinnert, wenn man die Aufenthaltsraeume der Kinder besichtigt. Im Bade- und Duschraum befinden sich, ganz wenig vom Boden entfernt, Waschbecken mit fliessendem Warm- und Kaltwasser, ein grosses Becken, in welchem die Kinder gebadet und mit einer Brausespuelung gewaschen werden koennen sowie eine besondere Duschanlage. Weiter befinden sich in diesem Raum vier sanitaer eingerichtete Miniatur-W.C.

Reinlichkeit ist die oberste Devise, die in allen Raeumen herrscht. Vor jeder Mahlzeit und vor allem vor Verlassen des Heimes werden die Kinder gruendlichst gewaschen und gereinigt.

Der eigentliche Tagesraum, der von Riesenfenstern und Glastueren begrenzt ist, stellt zu gleicher Zeit den Speisesaal und den Schlafraum dar. Die

127 Elisa Aschendorff (c. 1913–?) worked in Shanghai as a nurse, and was married to cantor Jacob Aschendorff (see ch. 8, n. 18).

ganze Inneneinrichtung, Tische, Stuehle, Klappbetten sind in ihrem Format dem Zwecke angepasst, Kindern von 2–6 Jahren zu dienen. Das juengste Kind, das wir bei unserem Eintreffen mit rosigem Gesichtchen und geballten Haendchen in einer Wiege schlafend sahen, war die ein Jahr und vier Monate alte „Shanghailaenderin" Sonja *Krips*,[128] deren Eltern Emigranten sind und deren Mutter als Schneiderin auswaerts im Berufe steht. Von den gegenwaertig im Heim untergebrachten 23 Kindern, deren Zahl sich aber bereits in wenigen Tagen auf 40 erhoehen wird, ist das aelteste augenblicklich fuenfeinhalb Jahre.

Die Raeumlichkeiten

An einer Wand des Tagesraumes haengt ein einfaches Bildchen. Vor einem landschaftlichen Hintergrund steht ein grosser Baum, von dem beschattet ein junger Baum heranwaechst. Und unter dem Bilde befindet sich die Inschrift, die das Motto des Kinderheimes bildet: „*Infans hominis pater*". Das Kind ist der Vater der Menschheit. In der heutigen Zeit mehr denn je. Auch unser Judentum bildet da keine Ausnahme. Nirgends in der Welt werden jene entwurzelten Menschen, die, wie schwankendes Rohr, vom Windstoss der Geschehnisse unserer Tage haltlos geworden sind, den Stamm fuer ein neues Geschlecht bilden. Auch das Problem des Judentums wird nicht geloest werden von Maennern und Frauen, von einer Jugend, die sich heute nach den *Fleischtoepfen* ihrer einstigen Heimat zuruecksehnen und auf ihrer Wanderung durch die Emigration nur den einen Goetzen kennt: das goldene Kalb. *Aus der Wiege, in der heute noch das juedische Kleinkind schlaeft aus dieser Wiege wird auch das neue Judentum entstehen.*

In einer tadellos sauberen Kueche, auf das Modernste eingerichtet, werden die Speisen, welche die Kinder im Laufe des Tages erhalten, hergestellt. Die Tageseinteilung des Heimes ist folgende: 8 Uhr frueh Eintreffen der Kinder; 8–10 Uhr Spielstunden; 10 Uhr Fruehstueck, bestehend aus Milch und Butterbrot; nachher Spielstunde; 12 Uhr Mittagstisch, bestehend aus Suppe, Fleisch oder Fisch, Gemuese und Obst; 1–3.30 Uhr Mittagsruhe; 4 Uhr Haferflocken oder Pudding; anschliessend Spiel im Freien oder im Saal; 6 Uhr Milch und Brot; anschliessend Reinigung der Kinder. 7 Uhr Abholen der Kinder.

Eine wunderbare Gartenanlage, Kinderautos, Spielsachen stehen den Kindern tagsueber zur Verfuegung. Froehlichkeit und Kinderlachen sollen der Dank sein, den sich die grosszuegigen Schoepfer des juengsten Werkes von Menschenfreundlichkeit und Naechstenliebe erwuenschen. Dass sich Sir

128 The Krips family hailed from Frankfurt/Main, and after the war returned to Germany. Sonja Mühlberger (née Krips; born 1939) became a teacher and published books and articles on Jewish refugee life in Shanghai and her own experiences.

Victor Sassoon ein neues Denkmal im Herzen sorgenvoller Eltern errichtet hat, braucht wohl erst nicht besonders betont zu werden.
Ernst Pollak

Document 70

Moses A. Leavitt[129] *(AJJDC) to Laura Margolis*[130] *(JDC)*
October 16, 1941
Typewritten letter (copy), 1 page; on the top of the page is a stamp ("GEN. & EMERG.").
Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 462

Miss Laura L. Margolis,
Cathay Hotel,
Shanghai, China.

Dear Miss Margolis:

You are probably aware of the fact that the Ort has started a training school in Shanghai. We understand from Mr. George Backer here that the following people constitute the Ort Committee in Shanghai:

Honorary Chairman	R. D. Abraham
Chairman	E. M. Gran
Vice Chairman	I. Covitt
" "	A. V. [sic] Rodkin
Treasurer	V. Koteliovich [sic]
Secretary	Dr. Fritz Lesser
" "	B. L. Radomishelsky

In due course we shall be glad to receive from you a report of the progress of this training school.

Sincerely yours,
Moses A. Leavitt,
Secretary.

MAL:RM

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129 About Leavitt, see ch. 3, n. 23.
130 About Margolis, see ch. 3, n. 33.

Document 71

Anonymous
July 31, 1945
Printed brochure, Four Years "ORT" Activities in Shanghai, 1941–1945. Shanghai: The Shanghai Herald, 84 pages (excerpts, pp. 9–21).
Microfilm, AJJDC Collection 4/006 2085524

Abstract
According to the preface (not reproduced here) by C. Rozenbes,[131] *ORT activities began in Shanghai with the arrival of the Polish Jews from Kobe in 1941. Despite the Pacific War and the cessation of financial support from the United States, ORT taught courses including carpentry and lock smithing; women could take courses like dress making and machine knitting. Later even engineering was added, and laboratory assistants were trained.*

Activities of the "ORT" Society in Shanghai

A fair appreciation of "ORT"s activities in Shanghai will also have to consider, besides the training and schooling, the educational work that has been done by impressing the Refugees gradually with the idea that productive work is most efficient to overcome their social depression. Whilst the idea of the various relief committees was merely philanthropy "ORT"s work intended to arouse the energies of the Refugees into activity.

Furthermore, those circumstances deserve due consideration that were obstructive to the realization of "ORT" ideas. To begin with, the leading Shanghai people found "ORT" principles far to [sic] troublesome to put them into reality; then, the beginning of "ORT" activities coincided with that period when Japanese Authorities in Shanghai deliberately frustrated any chance to the Refugees. It should be remembered that in those days a most ordinary thing could only be effectuated by utmost persistence; that very often the energy spent was in no proportion to the success attained.

With these facts in mind extent and success of "ORT"s work in Shanghai are far greater than can be learnt only from the figures in the statistical statements on Training and Schooling. Therefore, it is necessary to add to the

131 Chaim Rozenbes hailed from Warsaw. He lived in Vilna after the German invasion of Poland, and organized the local ORT there. He organized the ORT activities in Shanghai (see ch. 4, n. 3) as well and was a delegate to the World ORT. After the war he settled in Australia; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 44; Finnane, Far from Where, 57, 89.

recorded figures on the courses a general report on the performance of the "ORT" Society in Shanghai and their representatives. Just this performance of which statistics do not give evidence, had a bearing on the Refugees' mentality with regard to work, its value and judgement of man by what he is doing. |10| The very establishment of a workable "ORT" Committee was bound up with difficulties. The cosmopolite [sic] character of Shanghai had brought about a grouping of her Jews into four organized bodies: 1) the Sephardic Community (most of them being British subjects) 2) the Russian Ashkenazi Community with 3) the affiliated group of Polish Jews, and 4) the Community of Central-European Refugees. While the first three groups were already settled and had attained prosperity, the fourth group of the Central-European Newcomers faced social depression, as most of them found it impossible to range themselves in the economic life of the city. That is why the Sephardic and Russian Jews headed the relief committees for the Refugees.

These were the conditions Mr. Ch. Rozenbes, Delegate of "ORT" Central-Board, had to face at his arrival in Shanghai in May 1941. After many informative conferences with the representatives of all the four groups, finally, an "ORT" Committee in Shanghai could be constituted. After the establishment of an "ORT" office in the former French Concession the board was elected on 16th June, 1941:
Hon. Chairman: D. E. I. [sic] Abraham; Chairman: E. M. Gran, 1. Vice-Chairman: I. Covitt; 2. Vice-Chairman: A. Z. Rodkin; Hon. Treasurer: B. A. Kopeliovich; Hon. Secretaries: B. L. Radomishelski and Dr. F. Lesser; Messrs. L. Pines and Ch. Rozenbes.

Furthermore, the following gentlemen were members of the "ORT" Committee: Rabbi Ashkenazi, M. Birman, J. Bittker [sic], Rev. M. Brown, A. G. Ginsbourg, J. Knoller, B. Liebermann, M. Lipjowski [sic], H. Oppenheim, Dr. B. Rosenberg, Dr. I. M. Steinmann.

Unfortunately, Mr. E. M. Gran, elected chairman, left Shanghai for U.S.A. on the next morning already, and it was up to Mr. I. Covitt, and then to Mr. A. Z. Rodkin to take the chair in the following meetings that brought work in abundance. The next meeting |11| discussed the ways "ORT" might proceed best with its activities in Shanghai. Deliberations resulted in the decision to start with courses in those crafts that are closely connected with the building trade. On the one hand, such vocations offer the best opportunity to get settled in short time; on the other hand, they promise the best chances in the postwar reconstruction for work all over the world. For these considerations preference was given to training-courses for men in electro-fitting, locksmithing, and carpentering; furthermore, a course for confectioners was planned because of the good prospects in Shanghai; for girls and women a course in dressmaking was to be arranged.

Three major difficulties had to be overcome, however, before these decisions could be put into reality: 1) there were no suitable premises; 2) there were no instructors in Shanghai that were fit enough to perform their work as required by the peculiar "ORT" scheme; 3) there were no available tools for the proper equipment of "ORT" workshops.

As to suitable premises, they had to be situated in the vicinity of the Refugees residential center (the district known as "Hongkew") and, moreover, to house workshops and classrooms that could not possibly adapted [sic] to the peculiarity of Chinese buildings (usually having such a small base as 15 ft. x 40 ft.). Finally, premises were found in a former knitting factory (475 Jansen Road) which, however, rendered satisfying accommodations only to the three most important courses, i.e. electro-fitting, locksmithing and carpentering. Therefore, "ORT" started with these three courses on account of their connection with the building trade, and had to postpone the courses for confectioners and dressmakers.

As to instructors the problem was solved by entrusting tried craftsmen with the practical training of the students, and expert-engineers to do the theoretical schooling. By time, all of them had grown into the |12| scheme of "ORT" activities and became valuable coworkers with the ideas of "ORT."

As to the workshops it took much trouble to get at that time imported tools; finally we succeeded in securing equipment of first class quality. Furthermore, the trainees were given working-dresses that they might keep their own clothes in good condition.

The curriculum of the training was scheduled for a period of six to eight months and a preliminary budget amounting to U.S.A.$ 7000.– was drawn up to cover the expenses for the establishment as well as for the training period, and these plans were approved by the Central Board of "ORT" in U.S.A. Unfortunately, only half of the required sum was remitted from U.S.A. to "ORT" Shanghai prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War (8th Dec., 1941), and consequently, "ORT" had to face financial difficulties.

On 1st Sept., 1941, the three fundamental technical courses (electro-fitting, locksmithing, and carpentering) started and were followed (5th Nov., 1941) by a course for Motorcar-Drivers.

Now, "ORT" had to suffer from the repercussions of the Pacific War. "ORT" found itself cut off from the American resources, and funds had to be raised on the very spot of Shanghai. Mr. Ch. Rozenbes, Delegate of the "ORT" Central Board, tried to secure sufficient means referring to the repayment from the resources in America after the War. Those members of the "ORT" Committee who were Allied subjects had to resign and the re-organization of the Committee had to be arranged; Mr. Topas, then President of the Russian

Ashkenazi Community, was elected chairman, and Mr. G. Rabinowitsch co-opted.

Since financial problems were now prevailing, a special commission was set in to deal with them; besides that, "ORT" started to win more friends and members. Then, a propaganda was launched through |13| the press and by personal connections alike to put the work of the trainees on productive lines.

The arrangement of an exhibition of objects made by "ORT"s trainees at the Shanghai Jewish Club in March 1942 served the same purposes. Although these activities rendered "ORT" city-wide popularity with the Jews and made many of them friends of "ORT" ideas, they did not result in a financial help. The utmost economy required at that time to reduce also the salaries of the staff to a minimum.

In March 1942 "ORT"-Shanghai held for the first time examinations at which 66 students were examined in public by a commission of experts during two weeks. Many representatives of Jewish organizations were attending, among them Miss L. Margulies [sic] and Mr. M. Siegel for JOINT. It is understood that these examinations did not concern only the respective students but also had to justify the way "ORT"-Shanghai had taken. Last not least, these examinations yielded valueable [sic] conclusions for "ORT"s further work. The successful students were given certificates in a special ceremony at the Shanghai Jewish Club with prominent representatives of local Jewish life again attending.

In order to organize the second series of training-courses an informative propaganda was launched on the inmates of the refugee camps; influential speakers talked to them on the value of handicrafts and agriculture, and consequently a great number applied for the admission to the courses.

In the first half of 1942 Refugees in Shanghai were caught in a crucial situation: the Pacific War had caused an almost total stagnation in local economic life in consequence of which most of the Refugees lost their jobs; the disconnection from the American financial resources left the relief organizations without funds; the means that could be collected from local quarters scarcely covered the barest necessities of the |14| most needy among the Refugees; malnutrition was then very common among the Refugees, and "ORT" students were almost unable to perform manual work. Unfortunately, "ORT" had no means of its own to help them to a better feeding, but could come to an agreement with the competent relief organization (then called "Kitchen-Fund") to the effect that "ORT"-students were given preferential support providing them with another warm meal daily. "ORT"s monthly budget was then balanced by donations and subsidies that were contributed by private sponsors, and by "Juedische Gemeinde and "I.C." (International Committee Sassoon-Komor), respectively.

On 31st Aug., 1942, Mr. Topas resigned the chairmanship of "ORT"-Shanghai for political reasons, and his elected successor was Mr. G. Schifrin.[132] On 8th Sept., 1942, the ladies' committee of "Centrojewcom"[133] arranged a Mah-Jong party with a lottery for the benefit of "ORT," which helped for a short time.

An intensified support of "ORT," however, had been gladly welcomed just at that time; the crucial situation–already mentioned above–had now culminated into the necessity to stop with the distributions of warm meals on the part of Kitchen-Fund. Therefore, the "ORT" Committee has to consider how to manage a kitchen for its trainees; before the respective plans were realized Kitchen-Fund could, fortunately, distribute warm meals again.

Another problem "ORT" has to deliberate was the solid education of junior trainees, as both the general conditions and aims for their vocational training differ in some respects from those inherent to the retraining of seniors. After due consideration with all competent quarters "ORT" started on 18th Oct., 1942, a technical junior course with a high aimed program on modern educational lines.[134]

|16| The final examinations at the end of 1942 were featured by these difficult living conditions. Only a relatively small number of students could attend the training throughout the term unto the examinations. Most of them left "ORT" in order to accept even badly underpaid jobs as the support by Kitchen-Fund was well nigh unsufficient [sic], and "ORT" had no means of its own to help their trainees. These difficulties of "ORT" reflect the steady deterioration of the Refugees' situation on account at their increasing unemployment in the course of 1942. "ORT" had been closely watching this trend with grown apprehension and, therefore, discussed the situation with all quarters concerned. Subsequently, a large scale "Conference for Productive Help" was arranged at the end of 1942. In retrospection we understand that this conference could not achieve concrete results. The Refugees' situation was then al-

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132 Grisha (Gregory) Schifrin was a respected Russian businessman and a member of the Ashkenazi community. He worked for several organizations like ORT and SACRA; cf. Yaacov Liberman, My China. Jewish Life in the Orient 1900–1950, Jerusalem 1998, 52.

133 After the United States and Japan entered the war in December 1941, several welfare committees could no longer function as they had done earlier. In spring 1942, the Central European Refugee Committee (CENTRALJEWCOM) was founded by L. M. Rogovin as its first head. Its aim was to support refugees from Germany, a task which was denied by the EASTJEWCOM (see Document 89). For more information, cf. Eber, Wartime, 166 f.

134 On page 15 is a photograph showing two boys, a girl, and a male adult. The caption reads "The youngest pupils with their master."

ready conditioned by too many political factors beyond our control to admit of productive measures. This conference contributed, however, to re-impress the public with the advantage of productive help over mere charity.

All these activities of "ORT" as schemed and performed in a period of general depression give proof of its trend towards positive and constructive work.

On 7th Febr., 1943, a new series of training-courses in electro-fitting, locksmithing, and carpentering were started; they were shadowed by the illfamed proclamation of 18th Febr., 1943, issued by the Japanese Military Authorities that restricted residences and business life of the Stateless Refugees to a "Designated Area" which could only be left by special permission of the "Shanghai Stateless Refugees Affairs Bureau."[135] ["ORT"s Committee had to enter negotiations with that Bureau. Finally, special passes were given to "ORT"s][136] |17| staff and students for the shortest route from the "Designated Area" to the training workshop (475 Jansen Road); "ORT," however, was held responsible for any abuse that might occur in this respect.

As it is part of "ORT"s program to promote handicrafts and agriculture alike, the "ORT" Committee had never lost sight of and often had tried to meet the necessity of arranging agricultural courses. Finally, in March 1943 "ORT" could manage to overcome the manifold difficulties and make a start.

The creation of the "Designated Area" had also brought about a remarkable change as to the circles that were interested in "ORT"s activities. Many Refugees who had been moving into this area from other districts of the city got now engaged in Jewish Affairs and became friends of "ORT" whereas non-refugee members of "ORT" retired. This change is illustrated best by the fact that the general meeting dated for 20th June, 1943, could not be held because of too small attendance. Consequently, the "ORT" Committee had to re-establish themselves on account of their own. After that unsuccessful general meeting the board was elected on 29th Aug., 1943 as follows: Chairman: G. Schifrin; Vice-Chairman: H. Reiner; Hon. Treasurer: B. A. Kopeliovich; Hon. Secretaries: Dr. F. Lesser and I. V. Zitrin; Ch. Rozenbes.

By suggestion of Mr. Ch. Rozenbes this meeting decided to aid the trainees over their training period by carrying out productive work; thus, they might get special premiums in fair proportion to their labor. Furthermore, this meeting decided to apply to "S.A.C.R.A." for a subsidy to "ORT"s budget and for suitable premises that might permit to extend the activities.

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135 The Shanghai Office (sometimes Bureau) of Stateless Refugee Affairs was established in 1940 by the Japanese Imperial Navy, the central Japanese authority in occupied Shanghai. Its aim was to control all Jewish refugee affairs in Shanghai. It is sometimes falsely referred to as Office/Bureau of Jewish Refugee Affairs.

136 Doublings and the misplacement of four lines in the original text have been corrected.

"S.A.C.R.A." (Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association) was constituted under Japanese tutelage as the authoritative Jewish body for all Refugee affairs; the influential functions were with members of the Russian Ashkenazi Community. The |18| relief-section of "S.A.C.R.A." granted the subsidy "ORT" had asked for.

The meeting of "ORT" Committee on 13th Sept., 1943, co-opted two members of "S.A.C.R.A.," Messrs. V. Kaffel and J. Yanowitsch,[137] into the board; they also decided that the general management and responsibility was to remain with Ch. Rozenbes, also for the enlarged sphere of activity. The same meeting appointed a "Technical Commission" to organize new courses and to deal with the problem of productive help to "ORT" trainees.

In the last two months of 1943 courses in machine-knitting and dressmaking were started; furthermore evening classes for apprentices were established in order to furnish them with that additional knowledge they could not obtain with their masters. These classes started for electro-fitters, locksmiths, and hairdressers. In April 1944 a course in bookbinding was added, and schoolchildren were given an opportunity to spend their vacations (July, August 1944) gardening with the "ORT" Course for gardeners at the Chaoufoong Camp. Furthermore, preparations were made for a course in cutting which actually started in July 1944; it was intended as a complementary training for tailors already working in their vocation who wanted to widen the range of their abilities.

While "ORT" was thus rendering solid and constructive work, most of its members were caught in surprise in a very displeasing way by the order to reorganize the "ORT" Committee which was given to them by the "Shanghai Stateless Refugee [sic] Affairs Bureau" through "S.A.C.R.A." Unto this day the circumstances hiding behind that measure of the Authorities have never been cleared up. As it is a matter of fact that there were never given any substantial reasons for this order, personal motives and troubleshooting might have caused it.

|19|[138] In their first meeting on 31st May, 1944, the board of the 12 assigned members decided to group themselves into two departments, one dealing with financial and general affairs, the other with technical and schooling

137 The spelling of his name is Yanowitsch or Yanovitch, some sources have Yanovicz.

138 At the top of page 19 there is a photograph, the caption of which reads "On occasion of final examination in March 1942. Representatives of American JOINT Committee with the board of examiners and instructors. First row (seating) from left to right: Mr. M. Siegel and Miss L. Margulies [sic] (representatives of JOINT), Mr. Ch. Rozenbes (Delegate of 'ORT' Central Board), Mr. G. Rabinowitch, and Dr. F. Lesser (members of 'ORT' Committee in Shanghai)."

problems. This committee could not manage to work smoothly, and especially the financial department was a failure. It is understood that in the long run a reasonable change was bound to come, and by time a workable committee was under restoration, as those members who had not proved fit for activities with "ORT" were leaving the board on ac- |20 | count of their own. In the end, only reliable and willingly working friends of "ORT" have been remaining who are still today the "ORT" Committee: Chairman: J. Yanowitch [sic]; Vice-Chairman: H. Adler; Hon. Treasurer: B. A. Kopeliovich; Chairman of the Techn. Commission: G. Rabinowitch; Hon. Secretaries: I. V. Zitrin and Dr. F. Lesser; Representative of the craftsmen: S. Ultmann; Ch. Rozenbes.

In the meantime, the general situation of the Refugees in Shanghai had improved, as the "Shanghai Jewish JOINT Distribution Committee" had managed to contact the "American Jewish JOINT" which began sending regular remittances via Switzerland. Already the first negotiations with the Shanghai JOINT proved a full understanding for the value and importance of "ORT"s activities. As from July, 1944, JOINT subsidized "ORT" regularly thus enabling the realization of many ideas "ORT" had been planning since long.

From now on, "ORT" could give allowances equivalent to 1 lb. of bread daily to those students who could not earn anything because they were in training the whole day; moreover, additional allowances were given to especially eager students. In such a way, "ORT" aided their trainees over the training period, and subsequently the number of applicants increased. Numerous conferences with the respective craftsmen resulted in an agreement with the "Craftsmen-Guild" according to which the masters sent their apprentices to the "Complementary School for Apprentices" operated by "ORT" in "Wilhelm-Teichner-Heim."

The climax of "ORT"s activities was reached with the establishment of an "Engineering Seminar" in March 1945 that served technicians to widen their knowledge and was gladly welcome by them. The course in fashion designing, the training into chemical |21| laboratory assistants, and a complementary course for weavers satisfied acute wants of the Refugees, too; prove [sic] of which was given by the good attendance of these classes.

Thus, this review on four years activities of "ORT" in Shanghai will furnish evidence of the fact that notwithstanding the numerous financial and political handicaps and many a troublesome situation, "ORT" has never lost sight of its aims and steadily extended the sphere of its activities.

Three fundamental courses were in the beginning, at present ten courses are running simultaneously. In the beginning, training was performed in "ORT" Center Jansen Road, only; to-day students are educated in four vari-

ous places under the auspices of "ORT." In the beginning six instructors were teaching with "ORT;" to-day thirty teachers are carrying through its program. During the period under report, 1200 refugees have benefited from "ORT"s training and schooling. In the beginning of the fifth year "ORT" is planning to extend its work to the best of all Jewish groups in Shanghai.

Document 72

Eva Hirschel[139]
May 1943
Handwritten poem, 2 pages; a photocopy is included in: Wilhelm Deman, Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen, unpaginated page after the index. On the top of the page is typewritten "die Gregg School of ###.[140]*" Next to the poem a different hand has written, "Shanghai, 25.5.42, Ward Road 24/22."*
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56B

Nach vieler Arbeit, Müh' und Qual,
Haben 3 Gregg-Schüler heute zum ersten Mal
Ihre Prüfung mit sehr gut bestanden
Die sie, wie sie behaupten, ganz easy fanden.
Es war alles nur ein Kinderspiel
Und angestrengt haben sie sich garnicht viel.
Die kalten Schweißtropfen sind ihnen am Rücken herunter gerannt
Und vor Bookkeeping haben sie sich alle sehr geban[gt.][141]
Stella hat gebrüllt: „Zum Kuckuck noch einmal
Wer hat schon wieder mein Lineal?
Mein Radiergummi und alles ist weg,
Verdammtes Bookkeeping, so ein Dreck."

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139 Hirschel (1927–2015) hailed from Breslau; she arrived together with her parents and her brother in Shanghai in 1940. In 1947, she settled in the United States; cf. Eva Hirschel, Why We Should Vote, in: The Voice 29 (November 2016), <http://www.shomreitorah.org/wp-content/upLoads/2011/07/Nov2016Voice_web.pdf> (December 13, 2016).

140 The official name was the Gregg School of Business.

141 The word was written at the very end of the sheet, and the last letters are missing.

Der arme Pepperl war ganz bleich im Gesicht,
Denn die Balance stimmte immer noch nicht.
Hans Künstlinger[142] war entsetzlich nervös:
Sprach einer etwas laut, gleich war er bös'
„Könnt ihr nicht endlich ruhig sein
Meine Zahlen stimmen nicht, ach es ist zum wein'.
Wäre bloß das Examen schon vorüber
Und wie komme ich glücklich gut hinüber
Ich weiß nicht, was ich machen soll,
Dieses Bookkeeping macht mich ganz toll."
|2| Aber trotzdem haben sie die Prüfung gut bestanden
Wofür sie alle Herrn Prof. Deman herzlichst danken
Herr Prof. Deman hat es ja nicht zu schwer gemacht
Er hat alle Fragen sorgfältig bedacht.
Keiner von ihnen ist kleben geblieben.
Alle sind sie glücklich drüben.
Und so wünschen wir ihnen eine gute Stellung bald,
Einen guten Chef und viel Gehalt.

Eva Hirschel (15 1/2 Jahre)
May 1943 375 Kwenming Rd.

Document 73

Anonymous[143]
Spring 1944
Printed announcement, 1 page; a photocopy is included in: Wilhelm Deman, Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen; unpaginated page after p. 155. The graphic element in the title is a circle, encompassing a triangle or stylized "A" which has an "S" in its tip and a small Yin and Yang symbol between its angles.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/55

142 According to the List of Foreigners, Künstlinger (c. 1927–?) was a Polish refugee who came to Shanghai with his family.

143 Tonn as founder and manager of the Asia Seminar was certainly responsible for the announcement; about Tonn, see chap. 4, n. 4.

ASIA SEMINAR
Volks-Hochschule
Vorlesungsverzeichnis ◊ Fruehjahrs-Semester 1944

CHINA	JAPAN
Chin. Kunst, Musik u. Dichtung W. Y. Tonn	Die Tokugawa und Meiji Aera F. Friedländer[144]
Chin. Ethik und Philosophie W. Y. Tonn	Japan. Handel und Industrie L. Berliner[145]
Chin. Heilkunst u. Heilpflanzen K. Graftmann	Japanische Musik E. Felber[146]
Der universelle Gedanke in China W. Y. Tonn	Der Jap. Farbenholzschnitt M. Rosenfeld[147]

144 Fritz Friedländer (1901–1980) was a journalist from Berlin. From 1933 on he tought in Jewish schools in Berlin and worked for the Jüdischer Central-Verein. Following his release from imprisonment in Sachsenhausen he emigrated to Shanghai in 1939. After the war he settled in Australia. A comprehensive collection of Friedländer's personal documents, including a memoir, is available on <https://archive.org/details/fritzfriedlaender> (October 12, 2016).

145 Ludwig Berliner (c. 1888–?) was an insurance lawyer employed by the German civil service. In October 1940 he managed to escape from Berlin. He eventually reached Shanghai after staying for some time in Japan; cf. Stefan Fisch, Wirtschaftliche Zentralstellen in Deutschland bis zur Gründung eines eigenständigen Reichswirtschaftsamts 1917, in: Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich (ed.), Das Reichswirtschaftsministerium der Weimarer Republik und seine Vorläufer. Strukturen, Akteure, Handlungsfelder, Berlin/Boston Mass. 2016, 27–95, here 34–36.

146 Vienna-born Erwin Felber (1885–1964) was a historian and music scholar; he was music professor at Shanghai University and artistic director of the European Jewish Artists and wrote many articles and critiques about music performances in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*. He returned to Vienna after the war; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Erwin Felber, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003294> (October 14, 2016).

147 Manfred Rosenfeld (c. 1886–?) was a journalist from Breslau. In Shanghai he wrote articles for various newspapers. He was a member of the board of the Shanghai Jüdische Gemeinde, where he was in charge of media relations and edited the community's notifications in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*. The AJJDC Collection (193344, 4/12/1/461) contains his letter to Rabbi Hermann Vogelstein, written in 1941, on the situation of Jewish refugees in Shanghai; available on <http://search.archives.jdc.

INDIEN
Indische Religion
W. Y. Tonn

Das Indische Märchen
Mrs. M. Deman

Indische Baukunst
L. Ponzen[150]

Indische Liebeslyrik
W. Y. Tonn

ISRAEL
Das Buch Kusari
R. Mannes[148]

Das Recht im Talmud
R. Adler[149]

Medizin im Talmud
P. Bendix

Mystik und Gematria
W. Y. Tonn

SEMINAR-KURSE

Chinesisch für Juristen
R. Michaelis[151]

Chinesisch für Mediziner
E. Alexander

Chin. Rohstoffe u. Wirtschaft
L. Berliner

Chin. Wirtschaftspsychologie
W. Deman

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org/multimedia/Documents/NY_AR3344/33-44_Count_1/AR33-44_Count_08/NY_AR3344_Count_08_00098.pdf> (October 14, 2016).

148 Rabbi Hillel Mannes (c. 1909–1999) was from Lithuania and reached Shanghai via Vladivostok in 1940. While there, he taught at the Talmud Tora School (founded in 1939). He became director of both its branch in the French Concession (founded in 1941) and the Beth Jacob School, an orthodox school for girls where he and his wife tought. Mannes was also a member of the Beth Din (religious court); cf. Lewin, Almanac, 56 f. After the war, he settled in the United States.

149 Rabbi Leo Adler (1915–1978) grew up in Germany. He began his rabbinical studies in Würzburg, and continued in Mir/Lithuania. He came to Shanghai in 1940. In 1956 he was appointed rabbi in Basel/Switzerland; cf. Leo Adler, The Biblical View of Man. Foreword by Shimon Gesundheit, Jerusalem/New York 2007, xviii f.

150 Leopold Ponzen (1892–1946) was an architect from Vienna. He died in Shanghai; cf. Antje Senarclens de Grancy/Heidrun Zettelbauer (eds.), Architektur. Vergessen. Jüdische Architekten in Graz, Vienna 2010, 73–75.

151 Dr. Robert Michaelis (1903–1973) was a judge in Berlin until 1933. He came to Shanghai in 1939, where he worked as a lawyer and served as president of the Association of Central European Lawyers. After the war he returned to Germany where he became Director of the Regional Court at Mainz; cf. Barbara Geldermann, "Jewish Refugees Should Be Welcomed and Assisted Here!" Shanghai – Exile and Return, in: Leo Baeck Institute Year Book, 44 (1999), 227–243, here 242.

Chinesischer Text: Lun Yü W. Y. Tonn	Chinesische Architektur L. Ponzen

SPRACH-KURSE

Klassisch:		Modern:
Chinesisch	Tonn	Shanghai Dialekt
Japanisch	Brunn	Japanisch
Sanskrit	Tonn	Urdu
Hebräisch	Mannes	Neuhebräisch

Auskunft – Anmeldung 369 Kwenming Road 3–4 p.m.
630 Muirhead Road 8–9 p.m.

ASIA SEMINAR
Leitung W. Y. Tonn

Document 74

Manfred Rosenfeld[152]
June 14, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 3.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56B

Wirtschaftsaufbau durch Koennen

Die Frage des Wirtschaftsaufbaus und der Einordnung der Emigranten in die allgemeine Wirtschaft Shanghais ist gerade im Augenblick ganz ausserordentlich brennend. Wir sind hierhergekommen ohne grosse Erwartungen und vielfach von einem Irrtum befallen, der sich in geradezu beaengstigender Weise ausgewirkt hat. Wir glaubten naemlich, dass man um in Shanghai vorwaerts zu kommen, lediglich seine in Europa unterbrochene Taetigkeit fortzusetzen brauche. Auch waeren fuer Shanghai konkretes Wissen und Koennen nicht erforderlich. Die Folgen dieses verhaengnisvollen Irrtums sind nicht ausgeblieben. Wirtschaftliche Fehlschlaege loesten einander ab, und selbst vor Ausbruch des Pazifik-Krieges war die Zahl der stellungslosen

152 About Rosenfeld, see above, n. 147.

Emigranten erschreckend gross. Den wenigsten ist es gelungen, in Unternehmungen ausserhalb des Emigrantentums Beschaeftigung zu finden.

Faehigkeiten muessen entwickelt werden. Kein Meister faellt vom Himmel auch nicht in China. Wir haben lernen muessen, dass wir hier in Shanghai zumindest denselben Grad von Koennen entfalten muessen wie in Europa, erschwert durch die fremdsprachige Grundlage, ohne die wir nun einmal nicht auskommen. In der Wirtschaft aber, sei es im Handel, Gewerbe oder auch in der Landwirtschaft, genuegt jedoch die praktische Ausbildung allein nicht mehr; sie muss unbedingt durch gruendliches theoretisches Wissen ergaenzt werden. Das hat man in Europa laengst erkannt und daher Wirtschafts-Hochschulen jeder Art gegruendet. Solche Schulen, zugeschnitten auf lokale Verhaeltnisse, konnten uns von den Verwaltungsinstanzen bisher nicht zur Verfuegung gestellt werden. Die Emigranten in Hongkew befinden sich jedoch in der gluecklichen Lage, in ihrem Wohnbezirk ueber eine Wirtschaftsschule zu verfuegen, welche gerade auf die Beduerfnisse des Emigrantentums und auf die besonderen Verhaeltnisse Shanghais abgestimmt ist. Es ist dies die unter Leitung von Prof. Deman stehende „Gregg" School of Business.

Der gesamte Unterricht an diesem Institut wird in englischer Sprache erteilt. Gelehrt werden nebst den allgemeinen Handelsfaechern wie Stenographie, Maschinenschreiben, kaufmaennisches Rechnen, Korrespondenz, Handelsrecht, Kartothekwesen u.s.w. auch Verkaufspsychologie, Reklamewesen und kaufmaennische Etiquette, welche von den aus Europa bekannten Grundsaetzen oft abweicht.

Der letzte Punkt duerfte den aus Mittel-Europa kommenden Emigranten neu sein. Hier klafft eine Luecke, die das Emigrantentum schon oft schmerzlich empfunden hat.

Die Ausbildungsdauer betraegt uebrigens nur 6–7 Monate. Da der Ausbildungsgang sehr intensiv ist, wird hier ein mehrfaches von dem erreicht, was in der gleichen Zeit in Europa geleistet wurde. Ein Teil der Absolventen des Winterkurses ist bereits erwerbstaetig.

Und noch ein wichtiger Punkt. In dem von kaleidoskopartiger Manigfaltigkeit [sic] durchwirkten Shanghaier Leben vergehen die Monate mit rasender Geschwindigkeit. Fuer viele duerfte Shanghai nicht der Endpunkt ihrer Wanderung bedeuten. Viele beabsichtigen weiter zu wandern, sobald dies die Verhaeltnisse gestatten. Dann aber wird das, was diese Emigranten hier erlernt haben, die Ausfuellung der noch aus Europa mitgebrachten Bildungsluecken, fuer sie von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung werden. Die Zeit zur Ausbildung, die ihnen hier reichlich zur Verfuegung stand, werden sie in einer aufstrebenden Nachkriegswirtschaft in Shanghai oder einer anderen Welthandelsmetropole niemals aufbringen koennen.

Die mit dem erforderlichen geistigen Ruestzeug versehenen Emigranten werden grundsaetzliche Fehler vermeiden und es verstehen, sich der Wirtschaft jedes Wirtslandes reibungslos einzufuegen. So kann der Aufenthalt in Shanghai, wenn richtig ausgenuetzt, zum groessten Segen gereichen. Freilich, es heisst arbeiten, fleissig arbeiten, nicht aengstlich und kleinlich sein.
Manfred Rosenfeld

Document 75

Anonymous
June 1, 1939
Newspaper article, in: Gelbe Post, Ostasiatische Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift, vol. 1, no. 3, 61.
The transcript follows the reprint in Adolf Josef Storfer (ed.), Gelbe Post. Ostasiatische illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift. Reprint der Shanghaier Exilzeitschrift von 1939, mit einer Dokumentation von Paul Rosdy, Vienna 1999, 61.

Emigrantenspitaeler in Shanghai

Die Zahl der Einwanderer aus Mitteleuropa in Shanghai seit dem 15. August des vorigen Jahres, d.h. seit 9 1/2 Monaten hat 10 000 überschritten. Der Voraussicht nach wird die Zahl in den nächsten 7 Monaten, d.h. bis Ende dieses Jahres, auf 20 000 anwachsen. Das bedeutet, dass die Zahl der mitteleuropäischen Einwanderer (meist deutschsprachige Juden) in einigen Monaten grösser sein wird, als die Zahl aller sonstigen Europäer und Amerikaner zusammen (mit Ausnahme der Russen). Dass zufolge dieser starken Zuwanderung auch eine Reihe von ernsten sanitären Problemen auftaucht, ist begreiflich, von Problemen, die im Rahmen der bisherigen Möglichkeiten nicht zu lösen sind. Da in Shanghai stets auch mit einer Reihe von ansteckenden Krankheiten zu rechnen ist, so wächst das Problem der ärztlichen Betreuung der Neuzugewanderten über den Rahmen der Emigrantenfürsorge hinaus und wird zur allgemeinen Shanghaier Angelegenheit. Daher haben auch, als vor kurzem der Gedanke aufgetaucht ist, besondere Spitäler für die Neuzugewanderten zu errichten, sowohl der Council des Settlements als die Verwaltung der französischen Konzession ihre Vertreter in das vorbereitende Kommittee [sic] entsandt, u.zw.,[153] haben beide Munizipalitäten die

153 Und zwar.

Leiter ihrer Gesundheitsämter mit ihrer Vertretung im Kommittee betraut, das Settlement Dr. J. H. Jordan, die Konzession Dr. Y. Palud, daneben auch A. Sadoc.[154]

Es ist geplant, unter der gemeinsamen Bezeichnung „European Emigrants Associated Hospital" zwei voneinander gesonderte Spitäler zu errichten. Ein 150-bettiges für die Infektionskrankheiten, ein 200-bettiges für sonstige. Die neuen europäischen Einwanderer sollen in diesen beiden Anstalten ohne Unterschied von Rasse und Religion behandelt werden.

Das Kommitee besteht aus folgenden 21 Mitgliedern: R. D. Abraham, J. M. Alkow, J. Barraud, Major A. Bassett, Rev. M. Brown, S. Y. Euren, Frithjof Hoennke [sic], Ellis Hayim, Dr. J. H. Jordan, R. M. Joseph, Sir Elly Kadoorie, Paul Komor, Nelson Lurton, Brig. B. Morris, Sir Robert Calder Marshall, Dr. Y. Palud, Dr. F. Reiss, Prof. Bernard Read, A. Sadoc, Sir Victor Sassoon, M. Speelman.[155]

In der ersten Sitzung, die im Raume der Firma Sir Elly Kadoorie and Sons stattfand, wurde zum Präsidenten des Kommittees Dr. Frederick Reiss gewählt, zum Schatzmeister Ellis Hayim, zum Sekretär J. M. Alkow.

Wie wir aus maßgebenden Kreisen erfahren, ist eine in europäischem Sinne mustergültige Organisation der beiden Spitäler geplant. Angesichts der großen Auswahl, die die vielen jüngst eingewanderten und noch zu gewärtigenden mitteleuropäischen Ärzte bieten, wird es nicht schwer sein, die Posten der Abteilungsleiter und der Sekundarärzte den Erfordernissen solcher Anstalten voll entsprechend zu besetzen.

Das Projekt der Emigrantenspitäler ist von Shanghaier Presse lebhaft begrüsst worden. Die „Shanghai Times" Z.B. beschäftigt sich in einem längeren Leitartikel mit dem aufgeworfenen Fragenkomplex. Man kann nur wün-

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154 John Herbert Jordan served for about 20 years as the Commissioner of Public Health of the SMC; he retired in August 1942 and was followed by Tashiro, cf. Shanghai Municipal Council (ed.), Report for the Year 1942 and Budget for the Year 1943, Shanghai 1943, 7. Yves Palud was director of the Bureau of Public Hygiene and Assistance of the French Municipal Council; André Sadoc was a French merchant.

155 The committee members were respected men of the Shanghai international community; Jacob M. Alkow, a former American rabbi, was active in Zionist organizations. In Shanghai he worked for Jewish organizations on behalf of refugees. Julien Barraud was a French lawyer who had already lived in China for many years; Arthur Bassett was attorney for the British-American Tobacco Company; Sigvard Eurén was the Swedish manager of a Shanghai based match company; Frithjof Höhnke was a Norwegian businessman;"! Raymond Menashih Joseph was a Baghdadi businessman; Lurton was US-Commissioner to Shanghai; Brigadier Bert Morris was a British Salvation Army activist; Marshall was a British merchant; Read was a British pharmacologist who worked at the Henry Lester Institute.

schen, schreibt sie, dass es dem neuen Kommittee gelinge, die nötigen Mittel aufzutreiben. Schliesslich handle es sich nicht nur um die Gesundheit der Emigranten selbst, sondern um die sanitären Interessen ganz Shanghais. Die Zeitung rollt bei dieser Gelegenheit die Shanghaier Spitalsfrage überhaupt auf. Der Bettenmangel sei in der Vielmillionenstadt Shanghai so gross, dass unbedingt Abhilfe geschaffen werden muss.

Document 76

Frederick Reiss[156]
1940
Printed brochure, Report of the Medical Board. Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (April 1939 – April 1940). With an Introduction by J. H. Jordan, Commissioner of Public Health, Shanghai Municipal Council. Shanghai, 38 pages (excerpts, pp. 4, 13–22).[157]
Department of Asian Studies, HUJI, 2104 759 MISC–3/044

Abstract
In January 1939 a hospital for emigrants was opened. With the outbreak of the disastrous scarlet fever epidemic in spring 1939, it became necessary to open a second hospital capable of isolating infectious patients. Because of the prevalence of infectious intestinal diseases during the summer months an additional hospital was established for these. However, as increasing numbers of immigrants arrived, more hospital facilities are needed.

156 About Reiss, see ch. 1, n. 33.

157 The following was omitted here: p. 2: foreword by John Herbert Jordan (?–1949), praising the "calm and efficient" way in which the refugees dealt with the scarlet fever epidemic in 1939; pp. 5–12: listings of the names of the Shanghai Medical Board, the staff of the hospitals and camps, the names of members of the Medical Board founded on March 10, 1939 on the initiative of Paul Komor, its activities, and the names of "old-established" physicians in Shanghai who assisted in this Medical Board; pp. 22–38 contain a "Hospitalization Plea" by Robert Calder Marshall, an "Appeal" by Paul Komor, listings of the names of members of different Outpatients Departments, and tables showing the numbers of physicians, nurses, and different illnesses treated from March (August) 1939 to March 1940 at the Isolation Hospital, the Emigrant's Hospital and at several Outpatient Departments.

"Vivere aliis, non sibi,
constituit essentiam medici"[158]

INTRODUCTION

When I was asked a year ago to undertake the organization of the health problems of Refugees from Central Europe, I did not realize the many handicaps and difficulties which the health organization of 17,000 persons would entail. I have to admit now that the task was a rather heavy one and difficulties of an almost bewildering variety had to be encountered; but I may state that, despite my many shortcomings, we have fortunately overcome last year's anxiety. We have managed midst confusion and distress to build up an organisation which has given curtailed and modest but adequate service to our refugees.

Without a sympathetic understanding on the part of the Municipal Council Authorities, our task of handling this unfortunate immigration of despair into our city, would have been much heavier. It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge the full cooperation and support in all health matters of Dr. J. H. Jordan, Commissioner of Public Health, to whom we owe a deep debt of gratitude. Thanks are also due to the Refugee Camp Managers and Hospital and Camp Medical Corps, the members of which fully understood their duties and obligations and performed their works unselfishly, sometimes with great sacrifice in helping with the noble traditions of our profession. I wish also to tender my thanks to Mrs. Altschueler, whose efficiency in secretarial work has been invaluable.

We are far from having accomplished all the desiderate health organization of the refugees. The local situation is tragic beyond description and has been aggravated on account of the outbreak of the European war. We shall have to rely much more than in the past on the generosity of additional benefactors for the relief of the many sick and mentally tortured persons. I trust that charitably minded persons will deeply sympathize with the sad fate of those unfortunate victims and that help will be forthcoming from all those who still possess that broad spiritual striving towards the love for man which is fundamental for the peace of to-day and which may be our happiness of to-morrow.

F. REISS M.D.
Shanghai, April 1940
[…][159]

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158 Living for others, not oneself, is the essence of physicians.

159 Pages 5–12 comprise a list of the members of the Medical Board and the medical staff of hospitals and shelters.

[|13|]

HOSPITALS.

THE EMIGRANTS' HOSPITAL.

Mr. Komor, through his tireless energy, succeeded in obtaining a building in Washing Road as a hospital. It was opened in January 1939 and provided 32 beds for men, 25 beds for women, but only 3 beds for children. This hospital treated all internal, nerve, skin, eye and veneral [sic] diseases, and even minor operations were performed.

Until September 1, 1939, Dr. S. Didner,[160] ably supervised this Emigrants' Hospital which he organized under extremely trying conditions. It was with great regret that the Committee had to accept Dr. Didner's resignation on the 19th August 1939. Dr. O. Freund, formerly chief of the Kinchow Road Outpatients Department and of the Hospital for summer diseases, succeeded Dr. Didner and became Superintendent of the Emigrants' Hospital.

In December 1939 a laboratory for chemical and bacteriological examinations was established in the hospital, with Dr. T. Loewy in charge. Up to date 982 various examinations have been performed for 404 patients, which includes 576 routine urine and faeces analyses and 406 special (sputum, N.P.N., blood-sugar, Bilirubin, etc.) examinations. The laboratory is not only at the disposal of the Emigrants' Hospital, but also serves the camps, as well as all such needy refugees, who are under care of the Committee.

The laboratory received several donations from the National Christian Council[161] through the initiative of Mrs. J. C. MacCracken,[162] for the purchasing of chemicals, instruments, etc.

To-day the Emigrants' Hospital provides 31 beds for women, 40 beds for men and 3 beds for children. This accommodation has frequently proved insufficient and consequently we were forced during last summer to place patients even on the verandah.

Unfortunately the Emigrants' Hospital has no space for patients suffering from mental diseases and consequently we were and still are compelled to send them either to the Chinese Red Cross or to the Russian Hospital. The Emigrants' Hospital was also inadequately equipped for surgery. Until December 1939, all major operations were performed in the Shanghai General Hospital. Due to the increasing number of such cases [|14|] and the lim-

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160 Samuel Didner (1905–1999) was an Austrian Jew from Graz who arrived in Shanghai in December 1938. After World War II he continued to practice medicine in the U.S.; cf. Ross, Escape, 63–65.

161 The National Christian Council of China (founded in 1922) was an interdenominational consultative and advisory organization for Protestant groups in China.

162 Helen Newpher McCracken (?–1944) was the wife of Josiah C. McCracken (1874–1962), the founder and director of the Pennsylvania Medical School, Shanghai.

ited means of the Committee, I was forced to look for another solution. The Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic has kindly entered into an agreement which the Committee accepted. This proved to be definitely much more advantageous to the Committee, as considerable saving of expenses could be done. At the same time excellent care was taken of our patients by the surgical staff of the Shanghai Sanitarium Clinic. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. H. A. Mourer, and the rest of the staff of the Shanghai Sanitarium.

The problem concerning X-ray examinations and therapeutics was partly solved by the kindness of Dr. J. E. Bowen, Superintendent of the Country Hospital. The Committee was in a position to help a limited number who need X-ray treatment. Up to the present Dr. Bowen offered his services for the benefit of the Committee's patients and treated emigrants with X-rays and radium free of charge.

The B'nai Brith Hospital has also helped many poor patients and the requested diathermy treatments were always given free of charge.

Unfortunately the Emigrants' Hospital is far too small to render hospitalization to sick children and expectant mothers. Dr. W. S. Fu, the Superintendent of the Shanghai Children's Hospital extended a helping hand, as well as Dr. Amos Wong, the Superintendent of the Refugee Maternity Center and both were ready to provide space for emigrants in their hospitals, also entirely free of charge.

The American Foundling-House "The Cradle," a modern and well-equipped institution, is also at the disposal of the Committee and gives shelter to babies whose parents are unable to look after their newborn.

ISOLATION HOSPITAL.

In the beginning of May 1939 a serious epidemic of scarlet fever broke out among emigrants in Hongkew, which made it necessary to establish at once a hospital for infectious diseases. A building located near the Chaoufoong Road Home was considered the most suitable place.

The epidemic began with 18 patients, later bringing it up to 32 patients per day, reaching a peak of 128 patients. Besides the usual complications, we had only one fatal case. Gradually the epidemic decreased and by the end of June 1939, [|15|] the last 7 patients were transferred to the Isolation Hospital of the Shanghai Municipal Council. Thanks to the good care of Dr. Mosse, Dr. Benedikt, Dr. Szigeti, Dr. Margulies, the epidemic did not spread any further and took a rather favourable course.

For technical reasons summer-diseases were treated in temporary wards installed at the Kinchow Road Home from May to September 1939.

In September the Chaoufoong Road Hospital definitely became the Isolation Hospital for all kind of infectious diseases and those few cases that

were still treated for summer-diseases at the Kinchow Road Hospital, were transferred to the Isolation Hospital.

It was furnished with 45 beds for men, 25 beds for women, and 5 beds for children at the beginning and has now 55 beds for men, 40 beds for women, and 8 beds for children.

The management was taken over by Dr. Bela Szigeti, assisted by Dr. Goetz and Dr. Abisch.[163] When Dr. Goetz left, he was replaced by Dr. Ritter who also went to the interior of China. His successor is Dr. Ilieff who has been working in the Hospital as a volunteer.

KINCHOW ROAD HOSPITAL FOR SUMMER DISEASES.

Because of the numerous summer-diseases in June 1939, it was necessary to establish a hospital for infectious intestinal diseases. At that time the Isolation Hospital in Chaoufoong Road was not suitably equipped and, therefore, one part of the Kinchow Road Home was furnished with 35 beds for men, 30 beds for women, and 7 beds for children.

Dr. Otto Freund became the head of this hospital working together with the physicians of the Outpatients Department of the Kinchow Road Home. In September, as already mentioned above, those patients still being treated there were sent to the Chaoufoong Road Hospital.

ASSOCIATED HOSPITALS.

The ever increasing number of emigrants made it necessary to make further provision for sick emigrants and I planned to establish two hospitals, one a hospital for infectious diseases, which should meet all the requirements of a modern hospital. Therefore, in April 1939, an international Committee of leading citizens of Shanghai has been formed, under the name of the "European Emigrant's Associated Hospitals for Shanghai." The Committee was composed of the following members:

[|16|] **OFFICERS: President:** Dr. Frederick Reiss. **Treasurer:** Mr. Ellis Hayim.
Hon. Secretary: Mr. Jacob Alkow.
Representative of the Shanghai Municipal Council: Dr. J. H. Jordan.
Representative of French Municipal Council: Dr. Y. Palud.
Executive Committee: Mr. R. D. Abraham, Mr. J. M. Alkow, Mr. J. Barraud, Major A. Bassett, Rev. M. Brown, Mr. Fritjof Hoehnke [sic], Dr. J. H. Jordan, Mr. R. M. Joseph, Sir Ely [sic] Kadoorie, Mr. Paul Komor (resigned in May), Judge Nelson Lurton, Sir Robert Calder Marshall, Brig-

163 David Abisch (1905–1990) received his M.D. from the University of Berlin in 1930, and in 1939 he came to Shanghai. Apart from his work at the Isolation Hospital, he worked as a private practitioner; cf. Schwoch, Jüdische Kassenärzte, 30.

adier B. Morris, Dr. Y. Palud, Prof. Bernard Read, Prof. F. Reiss, Mr. A. Sadoc, Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. M. Speelman.

Two meetings were held at which everybody agreed upon the importance of my scheme and to a proposal that if Mr. Alkow, the Secretary of the Associations, would go to the United States of America he could describe there the condition of the present Emigrants' Hospital of the proposed new hospitals. Before Mr. Alkow's departure a permanent office in the United States should be considered in order to collect funds for Shanghai Emigrants' Hospitals. [|17|] According to informations received from Mr. Alkow, the outlook is not favourable because the United States are also deeply involved in political uncertainties. But I still hope that Mr. Alkow's mission will finally lead to the attainment of our goal. At the same time amongst others the following appeals appeared in the local press:

EMIGRANTS' HOSPITALS.
Committee Formed. To deal with Health of New Arrivals.

With the influx of large numbers of European refugees to Shanghai, the health and well being of the newcomers and its effect on the rest of the community has ceased to be the concern of any one group. Nearly all are now agreed that this has become a problem for the entire international community.

To face this growing problem and to prepare for any eventuality an international committee of leading citizens of Shanghai has now been formed. This international committee is to serve as the executive committee of a new organisation, that will be known as the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals for Shanghai.

The new committee will endeavour to find and create hospital facilities for 200 non-infectious and 150 infectious patients of the new arrivals from Central Europe, without distinction of race or creed.

In the event that the local community will be unable to carry the full responsibilities for these vast undertakings, appeals for funds to various countries that are now interested in refugee work will be considered. Such appeals will not, however, prejudice or conflict with, the larger appeals for support that the existing Shanghai refugee committee is now making.

The newly elected officers of the organization are Dr. Frederick Reiss, Pres. Mr. Ellis Hayim, Treasurer and Mr. J. M. Alkow, Honorary Secretary.

The Shanghai Municipal council has delegated Dr. J. H. Jordan to serve the committee on its behalf, while the French Municipal Council has authorized Dr. Y. Palud and Mr. A. Sadoc to serve on its behalf. The full committee consists of the following: – Messrs. R. D. Abraham, Mr. J. Alkow, J. Barraud, Major A. Bassett, the Rev. M. Brown, Messrs. S. Y. Euren, Frithjof Hoehnke, El-

lis Hayim, Dr. J. H. Jordan, Mr. R. M. Joseph, [|18|] Sir Ely Kadoorie, Mr. Paul Komor, Judge Nelson Lurton, Brig. B. Morris, Sir Robert Calder Marshall, Dr. Y. Palud, Dr. F. Reiss, Prof. Bernhard Read, Mr. A. Sadoc, Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. M. Speelman.

THE REFUGEES:
More Hospital Room wanted. NCDN[164]

At the suggestion of the President of the European Emigrants Associated Hospitals I beg you, sir, to allow me to appeal through the columns of your paper for the warm-hearted support of your readers for a cause that affects not alone the unfortunates on whose behalf I appeal, but the entire foreign Shanghai community.

With the arrival of more than 10,000 new emigrants to Shanghai, we are now confronted with an unprecedented problem of health that may affect not alone the health of the hundreds of new comers, but thousands of others. We frankly have almost become desperate in our search for a solution to the serious health problem which can easily be solved with a comparatively small portion of the sums that civilized communities spend for similar health measures, emergencies and eventualities. (Our present cost of maintenance and operation does not exceed Sh.$ 1.50 per patient.)

The small Washing Road hospital, which is the nucleus of our medical work, has been overcrowded for weeks, and we have been frantically looking for space for additional hospital facilities all over the city, thus far we have met with no success.

There is now left for us but one alternative, and that is to immediately build temporary hospital quarters on the borrowed piece of land adjoining the Washing Road hospital and on some other donated or loaned piece of land in the French or International Settlements. But for this we need money.

We will probably need even more money later on, but for that we will appeal to America, England, France and other countries. What we need now and immediately, is a start.

With deep regret we are therefore compelled to use the valuable space of your columns to ask and plead with your generous readers to help us make the start for the establishment of medical centres for noninfectious and infectious diseases for an additional few hundred patients.

We are desperately in need of immediate funds for both building facilities and maintenance. Any contribution large or [|19|] small, will help us greatly to go on with our work till the time when we will obtain support from out-

164 *North-China Daily News.*

side sources. All contributions can be mailed to our Treasurer of the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals, Mr. Ellis Hayim, 27 the Bund.
J. M. Alkow
Hon. Secretary.
European Emigrants Associated Hospitals.
Shanghai, June 9.

North-China Daily News

THE REFUGEES: An Urgent Appeal.

To the Editor of the "North-China Daily News"

Sir, – In these days of political and economic unrest and uncertainty, appeals to charitable people are scarcely well placed. One hesitates to add another jeremiad to the many to which the kindhearted Shanghailander is already accustomed. Yet, if one makes an excursion into the Hongkew District, one cannot remain unimpressed by the misery and distress of a group of innocent human beings. Through great sacrifices, care has been taken of the healthy, but little thought has been given as yet to the sick, to the tuberculous and psychoneurotic, both of which are increasing in number. Starvation and mental agony find easily an ally in tuberculosis and the ever lurking microbe cannot find a more suitable breading ground than the overcrowded homes of these poorly nourished people.

A new organization, the "European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals," has been created with great enthusiasm, which has a committee composed of leading citizens of our city. Both the International Settlement and the French Concession are officially represented on it. Everybody on the committee realizes that a hospital for 200 non-infectious and 150 infectious cases is necessary. Everybody agrees that this is a problem which has grown beyond the limits of the Refugee Committee, and only an international organization can handle the situation.

It is most regrettable that no encouragement has been given from responsible quarters. Neither the Municipal Council nor the French Concession has given any constructive suggestion. Either ways or means must be devised to stop the further influx of refugees to Shanghai and other places opened, or definite steps should be taken to assume at least part of the responsibility. At present the Refugee Committee is maintaining a hospital for 50–60 patients, which is already struggling [|20|] for accommodation and maintenance.

But what about the hospitalization of another 150 cases? What shall be done in case of outbreaks of epidemics? How should we handle the increasing number of mental cases? What should we do with the growing number of tuberculous children? Collections and Cocktail parties is a charming suggestion, but I am afraid that the effect of cocktails reacts generally in a slightly

different way, than in the compassionate reaction to help sufferers! We need quick and immediate help! We have to make a start, before it is too late.

Qui cito dat, bis dat![165] Kindly send donations to Mr. Ellis Hayim, 27 the Bund, and suggestions to F. Reiss, M.D. Chairman of the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals for Shanghai, 142 Museum Road, Shanghai.

F. REISS Shanghai, June 20

N.C.D.N. May 23, 1939

HOSPITAL PROBLEM IN SHANGHAI.

With the arrival here already of over 9000 Central European refugees and in the expectation that this number will have been increased to 20 000 by the end of the year, it is obvious that among the problems to which this large influx is bound to give rise is that of the health of the newcomers and its effect upon the rest of the community. Of the refugees now here over 1000 are children and as regards these alone there is a vital health problem to be taken care of. A most interesting and important announcement was made just before the week-end, this concerning the formation of an international committee of leading citizens of Shanghai which is to serve as the executive committee of a new organization which will be known as the European Emigrants' Associated Hospitals for Shanghai. The aim of the Committee will be to find and create hospital facilities for 200 non-infectious and 150 infectious patients of the new arrivals from Central Europe without distinction of race or creed. This last condition is important, for it is recognized that among those now coming into Shanghai are many of other than Jewish religion. It is intended that the health and hospital services to be created shall be available to all European refugees without distinction and it is upon that understanding the scheme has attracted the personal support of several whose names appear on the committee. Both the Shanghai Municipal Council and the French Municipal Council have [|21|] authorized their principal health officers to serve on the new organization, doubtless in recognition of the fact that the maintenance of the health of so large a number of people has a direct bearing upon the health of the general community. One can only hope that this new organization, which held its first executive committee meeting last evening, will be able to get financial support from various funds overseas which have been raised to aid refugees, and will receive the fullest possible backing from the local authorities and community. Dr. Frederick Reiss, who has assumed the presidency of the committee, and all those who are associated with him deserve the thanks and encouragement of all.

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165 Whoever gives quickly gives double!

This question of providing hospital accommodation for indigent refugees of foreign nationality naturally provokes consideration of the whole question of hospitalization in Shanghai in relation to the needs and financial capacity of the inhabitants. As regards hospitals for Chinese, the problem, as is generally well known, is far from satisfactory, but it must be said that the authorities and the various hospital and medical organizations have done a very creditable best to make the facilities both adequate and reasonable in cost. It is an enormous task which this overcrowded and largely impecunious city imposes upon the health authorities and the various managements of hospitals and nursing institutions, but that extremely fine work been done is generally admitted by those acquainted with the facts. Doctors have given freely of their services and, all-in-all, the situation has been well handled. There is, of course, much more that could be done, but the finances of the two Councils and the great many calls which have been made in other directions upon public generosity have led to the postponement of what otherwise would have been considerable overdue development in the provision of public hospital accommodation. With regard to the foreign population, such a large proportion of which has been badly hit financially by the developments since the outbreak of hostilities here nearly two years ago, there is pressing need for more and cheaper hospital facilities. In the existing hospitals there are relatively but few beds for the poorer section of the foreign community, and it is often a case of real hardship to meet the ordinary charges which going to hospital means, especially as charges have had to be raised, in common with increased costs in almost every direction. For a great many foreign residents the question of the increasing costliness of sickness, which few can hope always to avoid, is a serious one, and it would seem that the time has come when [|22|] much more public thought should be given to this matter.

Any well-organized community takes note of its hospital needs in relation to the ability of the people to pay as well as with regard to the adequacy of the accommodation available, and here in Shanghai, with so many personal incomes down and with the much increased cost of living due to the lower rates of exchange, there are many cases of severe personal hardship arising from the need to go into hospital. This is not as it should be, and it is high time that much more was done to make hospital treatment more cheaply available to low salaried Whites as well as to the great mass of the Chinese population. One admits that Shanghai has been set back over a fair number of years now in the matter of publicly-provided Chinese hospitals due to the budgetary difficulties of the Councils, and it must also be admitted that far too little has been done in the matter of assisted hospitalization for the low-earning class of foreigners and also to make hospital costs as a whole more within the ca-

pacity of a great many patients. While giving the heartiest of welcomes to the effort now being made on behalf of the indigent European refugees whose health must be protected, in the interest not only of themselves but also of the general community, the hope might be expressed that the whole question of hospital accommodation in Shanghai – its adequacy, its cost to patients of differing financial status, and its own financial structure and difficulties – might be brought under fresh comprehensive survey. […][166]

Document 77

[Illegible] (German Consulate-General, Shanghai) to German Foreign Office
June 30, 1940
Typewritten report, 17 pages; page 6 is missing (excerpts, pp. 1–5; 11–17). The first page has a printed letterhead, the date was typewritten; it also has several handwritten registry signatures and two registry stamps, one partially illegible, the other one saying "A. A. eing. 1. Aug. 1940." On the bottom left of the first page appears the addressee, "An das Auswärtige Amt, Berlin". On pages 4, 8–10, and 13–15, the report has references to the numbered attachments on the left margins.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/73B

Abstract
This report was official correspondence; it maintains that although fewer Jews have been able to come to Shanghai since the start of war, they continue to find all sorts of illegal means of entry. The economic situation of the newcomers does not look promising, but despite news to the contrary they brought along possessions to Shanghai, which they are now selling. Jewish attacks on Germany and National Socialism continue.

166 The rest of pages 22 until 38 are taken up by two open letters to the editor of NCDN, an appeal from the editor of the report, acknowledgments of financial help, and a description of the services of several medical units (e.g. the polyclinic, the maternity ward, the blood donor service) including a mention of their staff, and statistics concerning the patients and diseases treated in the various hospitals in 1939 and 1940.

Deutsches Generalkonsulat
Shanghai

Shanghai, den 30. Juni 1940.

B. 389
Akt. Z.: Po 4 L 5a
Inhalt: Judentum in Shanghai
Unter Bezugnahme auf den Bericht vom 11.1.1940
– B. 020 – betr. den gleichen Gegenstand.
Zuwanderung; neue Einreisebestimmungen; Weiterwanderung; Statistik; Organisationen; Wirtschaftslage; Politische Bedeutung der Emigranten; Einstellung zum National-Sozialismus; zu Italien, zu Frankreich und England; Juden unter sich.
– 2 Durchschläge
– 27 Anlagen

Die durch den Ausbruch des europäischen Krieges im Herbst vergangenen Jahres zum Stillstand gekommene Zuwanderung jüdischer Emigranten nach Shanghai setzte, wenn auch nur in geringem Masse, wieder ein, nachdem neue Wege gefunden worden waren. An Stelle der bis dahin benutzten deutschen Schiffe brachten die italienischen Dampfer monatlich über l00 Einwanderer, während ein kleinerer Teil auf holländischen und japanischen Schiffen Europa verliess. Mit dem „Conte Verde", der übrigens als das 150. Schiff seit Beginn der grossen Einwanderungswelle Juden nach China gebracht hat, sollen Anfang dieses Monats über 150 jüdische Emigranten hier eingetroffen sein. Durch den Eintritt Italiens in den Krieg ist der Seeweg als Zufahrt nach Shanghai versperrt, denn die wenigen japanischen Dampfer, die jetzt noch Europa verlassen, werden mit japanischen Rückreisenden voll belegt sein. Die Hoffnungen vieler bereits hier ansässiger Juden, aufgrund der bereits von den Shanghai Behörden erteilten 2400 „Permits" ihre Anverwandten bald herauskommen lassen zu können, sind damit zunichte geworden, da die Bahn über Sibirien nur einen geringen Teil hierher bringen kann. Am 14. d. M.[167] trafen zum Beispiel 21 Emigranten aus Oberschlesien, Hamburg und Berlin ein, |2| die am 27. und 31. Mai den letzterwähnten Ort verlassen hatten. Der sibirische Express verkehrt viermal wöchentlich von Moskau aus. Vor Manchukuo teilt sich die Linie; zweimal in der Woche fährt der Express über die Grenzstation Manchouli durch Manchukuo nach Dairen, wo die Einschiffung nach Shanghai erfolgt. An zwei anderen Tagen der Woche umgeht der Express in einem nördlichen Bogen Manchukuo und erreicht beim russischen Hafen Wladiwostok das Meer. In jedem Expresszug ist für 48

167 Dieses Monats.

Fahrgäste erster und zweiter Klasse Platz, wobei zu berücksichtigen ist, dass auch der russische Inlandsverkehr einen Teil der Plätze für sich in Anspruch nimmt, sodass günstigstenfalls mit 60 Permitreisenden jede Woche auf der Strecke Manchouli-Dairen gerechnet werden kann. (Preis Berlin-Shanghai II. Kl. 490,– RM.[168]). Im Mai hatten sich die Konsuln von Japan und Manchukuo bereit erklärt, Durchreise-Visa auch für „Permits" zu geben, die von der Internationalen Niederlassung erteilt sind. In diesen Tagen ist indes eine neue Weisung gekommen, nach welcher nur für japanische „Permits" eine Durchfahrt durch Manchukuo möglich ist. Für Juden, die nicht japanische Erlaubnisscheine erhalten haben, besteht nur die Möglichkeit, den Weg über Wladiwostok-Japan zu nehmen, der jedoch mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist. Zunächst ist eine Sondergenehmigung der Sovjet-Behörden erforderlich, die nur in Moskau erteilt wird. Ausserdem verlangen die Japaner ein Transit-Visum, dessen Beschaffung schwierig ist. Endlich wird der Aufenthalt in Wladiwostok bis zur Abfahrt des Schiffes dadurch kostspielig, weil dort alles in Devisen bezahlt werden muss. Eine unmittelbare Schiffsverbindung zwischen Wladiwostok und Shanghai gibt es nicht. Mit einem regelmässigen Schiffsanschluss auf der Strecke Japan-Shanghai kann selten gerechnet werden, sodass die Auswanderer teilweise Wochen in Kobe und auch in Wladiwostok warten müssen. In letzterem Orte besteht zudem keinerlei |3| jüdische Organisation. Während sonst eine Bezahlung der gesamten Reise in deutscher Währung möglich ist, muss bei der Fahrt über den Hafen Wladiwostok, die 3 Tage länger dauert, die Schiffsstrecke nach Shanghai in Yen bezahlt werden. Nach Mitteilung der Judenpresse sollen von Berlin aus Verhandlungen eröffnet worden sein, um zusätzliche Waggons an die Expresszüge anzuhängen. Hoffentlich führen diese Verhandlungen zu einem Ergebnis, da anderenfalls der Abtransport der eine Einreiseerlaubnis bereits besitzenden Juden aus Deutschland mindestens um etwa 3/4 Jahre verzögert werden würde.

Dass die Juden mit allen erlaubten und unerlaubten Mitteln das Hereinholen ihrer Rasseangehörigen zu fördern suchen, ergibt sich gelegentlich bekannt werdender „Schiebungen". Um z.B. die Erlaubnis für Anverwandte in Deutschland zur Einreise nach der Internationalen Niederlassung zu erreichen, haben Juden, deren Wohnungen in der französischen Konzession oder im japanisch besetzten Gebiet liegen, fingierte Wohnungsanschriften im Internationalen Settlement angegeben. In diesen Tagen werden sich laut Zeitungsnachricht zwei Russen vor den Gerichten zu verantworten haben, die jüdischen Emigranten durch falsche Anstellungsbestätigungen die Einreise hierher ermöglicht hatten. Auch der am Schlusse des Berichts erwähnte „Kriminalkommissar" Dr. Lax hatte ähnliche Wege beschritten.

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168 Reichsmark.

Auf diese Unregelmässigkeiten ist wohl auch die am 1. Juli in Kraft tretende Neuregelung für die Einwanderung nach der Internationalen Niederlassung zurückzuführen. Danach müssen nicht nur die im Vorbericht – Seite 3 – erwähnten Voraussetzungen hinsichtlich Landungsgeld u.s.w. erfüllt sein, sondern darüber hinaus ist eine Eintrittserlaubnis der hiesigen Stadtverwaltung notwendig. Damit kann eine Prüfung der Richtigkeit aller Angaben an Ort und Stelle |4| erfolgen. Die Erteilung oder Verweigerung dieser Erlaubnis liegt vollkommen im Belieben der Polizei, und die Schiffahrts- und Eisenbahnlinien, die Reisen hierher buchen, tragen die volle Verantwortung dafür, dass diese Erlaubnis nachgewiesen wird.

In diesen Tagen ist eine Mitteilung über die von Juden in Deutschland auszufüllenden Fragebogen [sic] veröffentlicht worden (Anl.[169] 1) mit der gleichzeitigen Aufforderung an die hiesigen Emigranten, sich für die Beschaffung von Einreiseerlaubnissen für Rasseangehörige in Deutschland zu bemühen.

Die hiesige Judenpresse ist infolge der gebieterischen Notwendigkeit für die Juden, Europa zu verlassen und der sich dabei zeigenden Schwierigkeiten voller Sorgen, die nachstehend erwähnt seien, wenn auch Gebiete behandelt werden, die nicht zum hiesigen Amtsbereich gehören.

Es handelt sich nicht nur um die Tatsache, dass mit der Besetzung Belgiens die jüdische Weltorganisation aufgelöst ist, die die Auswanderung aus den totalitären Staaten nach Übersee finanzierte, auch nicht um die prophetische Sorge, dass auch die Juden in Frankreich und England „Daran denken müssten, über kurz oder lang ihre Auswanderung zu betreiben", sondern um die Frage, wohin die Auswanderung gelenkt werden muss, weil „sich fast alle Länder den Juden verschlossen und lieber die deutschen Nazis hereingelassen haben." Die jüdische Presse klagt, dass die „Hicem" mit jeder Post ganze Haufen von Einreisegesuchen zurückerhalte, wie z.B. aus Australien und Neuseeland, Südafrika und auch anderen Ländern. Australien sende nicht nur die Anträge deutscher Flüchtlinge militärpflichtigen Alters zurück, sondern auch von alten Männern und Frauen, sogar staatenlosen und polnischen Staatsangehörigen. Es würden selbst denjenigen die Visa verweigert, die Erlaubnisscheine der Bundesregierung besässen; alle südamerikanischen |5| Republiken hinderten die Einwanderung in jeder Weise. Auch zunächst mit grosser Hoffnung begrüsste Niederlassungsmöglichkeit auf den Philippinen scheint ernstem Widerstand zu begegnen. Dort soll nach Mitteilung der „Gelben Post" eine ausgesprochene scharfe Opposition von philippinischen Führern bestehen und Präsident Quezon bei der Einweihung einer Siedlung

169 Anlage.

für jüdische Flüchtlinge ausgeführt haben, er sei damit einverstanden, 10 000 Juden „im Laufe vieler Jahre willkommen zu heissen." […][170]
|11| […]
Wirtschaftslage.

Trotz der vorgeschilderten Einrichtungen kann die Wirtschaftslage der Judenflüchtlinge auch nicht annähernd als gesichert angesehen werden, da die hauptsächlichsten Quellen von auswärts infolge des europäischen Krieges versiegen und der überwiegende Teil der Emigranten – wie bereits erwähnt – hinsichtlich Unterkunft und Ernährung unterstützt werden muss.

Die israelitische Union, eine Selbsthilfe-Organisation der hiesigen Juden, hat sich allerdings bemüht, ihre Rassenangehörigen in den Wirtschafts- und Arbeitsprozess einzugliedern, um für den Export nachgefragte Artikel herzustellen. Sie hatte sich daher vor etwa 6 Wochen an Fachleute aus dem Bereich der Holz-, Metall- und Glasbearbeitung, der Textilien-Herstellung, Maler, Lackierer und Polierer durch einen Aufruf gewandt. Über das Ergebnis der Bemühungen ist aber Näheres bisher nicht bekannt geworden und es |12| erscheint auch fraglich, ob eine konkurrenzfähige Produktion mit Hinsicht auf die billige chinesische Arbeitskraft möglich ist.

Wenn man sich fragt, warum trotz des Brachliegens eines so hohen Hundertsatzes von Arbeitskräften und trotz Ausbleibens einer finanziellen Hilfe vom Ausland kein grösseres Elend unter den Emigranten festzustellen ist, so muss man berücksichtigen, dass mit jedem Einwanderer wieder Bargeld zufliesst, das, hauptsächlich in jüdischen Kreisen ausgegeben, zunächst eine zusätzliche Existenzerhaltung bedeutet. Es wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die nach dem Settlement zugelassenen Einwanderer je US$ 400.– pro Kopf mitbringen. Anfang des Jahres sollen nach einer Wirtschaftsberechnung die mitteleuropäischen Refugees dem Shanghaier Wirtschaftsleben 1 Million US$ zugeführt haben. Die mit dem letzten italienischen Dampfer „Conte Verde" Anfang dieses Monats eingetroffenen Juden haben umgerechnet wieder 2 Millionen China Dollar ins Land gebracht und damit etwas neues Blut in die blassen Adern des jüdischen Wirtschaftskörpers hineingebracht.

Ein Teil dieses Geldes wird von den Rührigeren produktiv angelegt; ein anderer Teil ist allerdings, wie aus der Presse hervorgeht, dadurch verloren gegangen, dass sich Juden in ihrem angeborenen Bestreben, mühelos zu gewinnen, aufs Glatteis der Spekulation begeben haben.

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170 On pages 5–11, paragraphs about the following subjects have been omitted: details on the Mindanao rescue plan, refugees continuing to the United States, rescue plans by Finland, New Zealand, and Australia, statistics on the Jüdische Gemeinde, and the activities of the IC.

Da die deutschen Behörden nicht so inhuman sind, wie man sie hier hinzustellen beliebt, so ist den Juden gestattet worden, eine Menge ihres persönlichen Eigentums mitzunehmen, unter welchem sich auch wertvolle Sachen befinden. Der mit Unterstützung hiesiger jüdischer Kreise aufgemachte und bereits erwähnte „Thrift-Shop“[171] vermittelt gegen eine gering Gebühr den Verkauf solcher Sachen, und so haben von Mai 1939 bis April 1940 in dem erwähnten |13| Laden Verkäufe von rund 130 000 Shanghai Dollar stattgefunden. Vor kurzem hat man eine neue Abteilung des „Thrift Shop“ eröffnet, in welchem Gegenstände zum Verkauf ausgestellt sind, die aus 13 bei Kriegsausbruch in neutralen Häfen stecken gebliebenen mit vieler Mühe weiter hierher beförderten „Möbel-Lifts“ stammen.

Politische Bedeutung der hiesigen Emigranten.

Bis zum heutigen Zeitpunkt kann nicht von einer politischen Bedeutung der deutschen Judenschaft in Shanghai gesprochen werden. Eine solche dürfte aber bei ihrer grossen Zahl für die nächsten Stadtratswahlen zu erwarten sein. Bei den diesjährigen war die Organisation der Wahlbeteiligung noch nicht durchgeführt, ausserdem standen die Juden zwischen zwei Feuern, nämlich zwischen einer Abstimmung für die Engländer und einer solchen für die Japaner. Die Möglichkeit für die Engländer zu stimmen – was ihnen natürlich am meisten gelegen hätte – war durch die Japaner beschnitten worden, die in dem von ihnen besetzten Stadtteil Hongkew offenbar gewissenhaft darauf gesehen haben, dass keiner der dortigen jüdischen Einwohner sich zu den englischen Wahlzetteln verirrte. Die Juden mussten auf der anderen Seite berücksichtigen, dass sie den Japanern für das gezeigte Entgegenkommen und Wohlwollen Rücksicht schuldig waren. So ergab sich eine Politik des Hin- und Herschwankens der jüdischen Presse bis als Schlagwort der Wahlruf „Selbstbestimmung“ gefunden wurde, der wohl die meisten Juden von der Wahlurne ferngehalten hat. Das kann sich in Zukunft ändern, wenn es den um die Ratssitze kämpfenden Parteien gelingt, die jüdischen Stimmen planmässig zu bearbeiten. (Anl. 8–9).

Einstellung gegenüber Nationalsozialismus.

Die Einstellung der Judenschaft zum nationalsozialistischen Deutschland blieb unverändert. Der Ton des 8-Uhr-Abendblattes wurde, gemessen an der Vorzeit, etwas milder, nachdem der Redakteur gewechselt |14| hatte. Offenbar hat letzterer damit nicht die Wirtschaftlichkeit des Blattes erhöht, sodass er es

171 Located on Nanking Road and organized by the IC, refugees could pawn their belongings here in order to obtain cash.

vorzog, eines Tages sang- und klanglos zu verschwinden. (Anl. 10). Zusammengefasst ist die Judenpresse in Shanghai nur ein Abklatsch der englisch-amerikanischen, mit den gröbsten Verdächtigungen, die teilweise aus amerikanischer Quelle stammen und eine unerhörte Verhetzung und Verdrehung darstellen. (Zu vergl. die Anlagen: 220 000 polnische Juden als Zwangsarbeiter (entnommen aus der Shanghaier Monatsschrift „Israel [sic] Messenger"); Rassenschutzgesetze und die Warschauer Freudenhäuser; Neues aus der Lubliner Hölle; Naziagenten in der Ukraine).

Auch die „Fünfte Kolonne" spukt in Shanghai und hat die lautesten Weherufe der Juden hervorgerufen, als sie mit dieser in Verbindung gebracht wurden, ganz besonders, da angeblich „800 Deutsche Schiessübungen abhalten und sich offenbar für den Einbruch in die französische Konzession vorbereiten."

Bekanntlich wollen 50 000 Juden aus allen Ländern gegen Deutschland kämpfen. Das will man auch hier, und da die Gefahr des Eingesetztwerdens geringer zu werden scheint, wird die Begeisterung grösser, sodass in Shanghai bereits 1000 Kämpfer zur Verfügung stehen, (Anl. 15–16) die „für den Dienst in Übersee nur noch geringe Ergänzungsausbildung benötigen würden"…!!

Die beiden Leiter der kämpferischen Zionisten[172] sind leider nicht zu fassen, da sie nicht Reichsdeutsche sind.

Einstellung zu Italien.

Mit dem Eintritt Italiens in den Krieg auf Seite [sic] Deutschlands hat sich die bis dahin wohlwollende Stellungnahme der Juden zum italienischen Reich geändert, wenn auch zunächst in den anliegenden Artikeln nicht das gleiche Gift wie gegen Deutschland verspritzt wird.

|15| Gegenüber England und Frankreich besteht die gleiche Liebe, wie bisher, wenn auch – wie bereits erwähnt – in Geldsachen Vorsicht geübt wird. Das französische Rundfunkprogramm wird regelmässig in der „Gelben Post" veröffentlicht. Das ist umso seltsamer, als die französische Konzession in kühler Zurückhaltung ihr Zuzugsverbot für Juden noch immer aufrecht erhält.

172 Several Zionist organizations existed in Shanghai. The first one was established by members of the Baghdadi community in 1904. Later on branches of several other Zionist organizations were founded, including Betar and THAZO. The Zionist Jewish Labour Bund was launched in 1941 by Polish and Russian refugees. After the Proclamation of the Designated Area, all associations united to form the Zionist Organization of Shanghai (ZOS) in September 1943; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 59.

Juden unter sich.

Ein Zeichen der wachsenden Nervosität infolge der wirtschaftlich und politisch gedrückten Lage ist der Versuch, das dahinschwindende Selbstvertrauen durch Hinweise darauf wiederaufzurichten, welche bedeutungsvolle Persönlichkeiten der Welt aus der jüdischen Rasse hervorgegangen seien, (Anl. 19–21) auf der anderen Seite aber die gegenseitigen Schwierigkeiten immer mehr in der Öffentlichkeit auszutragen. Ein besonderes Beispiel bietet der Fall des polnischen Juden Dr. Gabriel Lax,[173] der seine gehässigen Angriffe gegen den Nationalsozialismus, insbesondere gegen den Führer, gerichtet hatte. Da er staatenlos war, wäre ein Eingreifen gegen ihn nur im Wege der Strafverfolgung möglich gewesen, was durch dortigen Erlass vom 9.III.40 – 83–76 – abgelehnt worden ist. Angeblich um seinen Rassegenossen zu helfen, hat Lax Unterschriftsfälschungen vorgenommen, und nach Einleitung eines Strafverfahrens den Veranlasser desselben im 8-Uhr-Abendblatt angegriffen, sowie die Kühnheit besessen, eine Erklärung zu veröffentlichen und eine solche ihn deckende von dritter Seite in der Judenpresse zu veranlassen. Seine Verurteilung zu 3 Monaten Gefängnis, wenn auch mit zweijähriger Bewährungsfrist lässt erkennen, wie die nichtjüdischen Gerichte über ihn urteilen.

Eine persönliche Verärgerung veranlasste einen Juden Kaim zu einer Veröffentlichung in der englisch-amerikanischen Presse unter der Überschrift „Nazipropaganda in China“,[174] wobei das Internationale Committee, das sich alle Mühe gibt, den Rasseange- |16| hörigen zu helfen, verdächtigt wurde, durch Aufzeichnungen Handlangerdienste für die Gestapo zu leisten, um Geiseln aus den unter Naziherrschaft lebenden Personen zu machen.

Der Sekretär des I.C., Komor, musste dieser Verdächtigung durch eine Gegenerklärung entgegentreten.

Den Juden war früher viel Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl nachgesagt worden. Dies scheint sich geändert zu haben. Anderenfalls würde das Komitee der Hicem nicht „an das Gewissen aller derer appellieren, die sorglos und gedankenlos hier sitzen, sich zu besinnen und die von der Organisation geborgten Gelder zurückzuzahlen. Ohne Geld könnte man nicht den Frauen und Kindern, den Brüdern und Schwestern, vielleicht den eigenen Angehörigen helfen, die im Brand des europäischen Krieges ersticken.“

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173 For further sources on the Lax case of forged signatures and SMP seals used to obtain a family entry permit, cf. Eber, Wartime, 108.

174 The reference is to the article by Julius Rudolf Kaim, With Propaganda and Gestapo the Nazis Work Among Us, in: Shanghai Weekly Review (May 25, 1940). Kaim, who was an academic literary scholar, writer, and journalist, published an autobiographical booklet after the war under the title *Damals in Shanghai. Kaiser, Kaufleute, Kommunisten* (Munich 1963).

Es werden ständig Vergehen bekannt, die Juden – sei es gegen Nichtjuden oder auch gegen ihre eigenen Rassegenossen – begehen. Soweit die Täter noch die Reichsangehörigkeit besitzen, wird von hier aus bei den heimischen Stellen die Ausbürgerung angeregt.

Eine Äusserung in der antideutschen China Press anfangs dieses Monats gibt die Einstellung wieder, die die bisher hilfsbereit für die Juden eingetretenen Kreise über das hiesige Emigrantentum bekommen. Man wies in dem Artikel daraufhin, dass die Vergnügungslokale von Juden gefüllt sind, dass diese aber zur Unterstützung ihrer ganz armen Rassegenossen kaum etwas beitrügen, sodass die volle Last der Unterhaltung auf den Schultern der Alteingesessenen ruhte. Dadurch, dass österreichische und deutsche Flüchtlinge sich einen schlechten Namen gemacht hätten, käme es, dass die Geschäftswelt eine ungünstige Meinung von den Juden erhielte.

Endlich wird auf die kühle Zurückhaltung der Russen, einschliesslich der russischen „Glaubensgenossen" hingewiesen, welche die freundliche Aufnahme vergessen hätten, die einst in Deutschland den |17| russischen Flüchtlingen erwiesen worden sei.

Der bei Abfassung des Berichtes vom 11. Januar noch nicht in Erscheinung getretene Antisemitismus scheint somit die ersten Wurzeln zu fassen.
{###ůčker}

Document 78

Michel Speelman[175] *(CAEJR) to Morris Troper*[176] *(JDC)*
May 6, 1940
Typewritten letter, 1 page. Enclosed was a letter (copy) by Eduard Kann (CAEJR), dated April 25, 1940, to Ishiguro Shirō (Japanese consulate, Shanghai), 2 pages; both letters have the printed letterhead of the CAEJR; on the first letter, the Committee's address, the sender's location, and the date were typewritten; it has a receipt stamp (June 3, 1940) with several handwritten signatures.
Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 459

175 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.
176 About Troper, see ch. 2, n. 206.

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

7 Avenue Edward VII
SHANGHAI/China
Cable Address: SPEELMAN

Letter No. 226
Airmail

Shanghai, 6th May 1940

M. C. Troper, Esq., Chairman
The American Joint Distribution Committee,
19, rue de Téhéran,
PARIS 8e

Dear Mr. Troper,

I am enclosing copy of a letter which our Committee member, Mr. E. Kann, addressed to the Japanese Authorities. This letter speaks for itself.

To us it is quite clear that the Japanese are trying to bring in as many refugees as possible who will be allowed to live in Hongkew and eventually will be considered as rate payers, in the hope to have more votes for the next Municipal elections.

The great danger for us is that we will have a further unlimited influx of refugees who sooner or later will be thrown back on us, as we are convinced that none of them have relatives or friends here who can look after them.

Yours very sincerely,
{M Speelman}
Chairman
Encl.

[|1|] COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI

Copy.
S. Ishiguro, Esq.,
Consul for Japan.
Shanghai.

25th April 1940.

Dear Mr. Ishiguro,

Re: Immigration

From the "8-Uhr Abendblatt," an emigrant evening paper, of April 23, I learn that 1000 immigration permits for Hongkew residence are about to be

issued. The issue of 20th April of the same paper contains a notice, telling applicants when to apply (according to the alphabet) to the Japanese Consulate General for delivery of the landing permits already referred to. All these applications were submitted without the intermediary of our Committee, so that the latter was not enabled to investigate the bona fides of the applicants, nor could we examine the prospects of the new arrivals to make a living in Shanghai.

While welcoming the idea to help people to get out from Central Europe and enable them to start life afresh in a new land, we feel apprehensive as to the ability of the newcomers to stand on their own feet. Since November last year, when immigration was again permitted under certain restrictions, our Committee has carefully examined the statements made in writing by applicants and has invariably passed on such requests only, which contained a fair chance that the newcomers will not become a burden to either our Committee, or to the Shanghai community at large.

Recently the Electioneering Association, consisting of refugees, a body without juridical standing, has inaugurated a campaign for the issue of immigration permits. We have no desire whatsoever to either criticize, nor to interfere in any way with the decisions of your Consulate General in this respect. On the contrary, we really remain thankful for the great kindness you have displayed towards the unfortunate masses of citizens who are forced to abandon their homes. But on the other hand, I feel dutibound to place on record that:

(a) our Committee cannot accept responsibility for the bona fides of both the applicants and the immigrants, as long as the applications have not been passing through our hands for examination of the statements contained therein.

|2| (b) that, in the event of emigrants arriving here without means – especially if this happens in large numbers – our Committee will most likely be unable to take them to the Homes and maintain there for a lengthy period of time.

Bringing to your notice for your kind consideration the contents of this last paragraph is really the main purpose of this letter. The means at our disposal are dwindling as time goes on and I fear that we should not be able to cope with the requirements of a large mass of people landing here without means and being unable to care for their own support.

This does not mean that our Committee does not want to see an increase in the size of the refugee population here. As a matter of fact, we at all times welcome the growth of the emigrants colony in China and shall gladly place our advice and assistance at its disposal. But what circumstances demand is that newcomers ought to be able to stand on their own feed [sic] and not be dependent upon the very slender monetary resources of our Committee.

I thought it advisable to bring to your kind notice these actualities and desire to thank you once more for the very helpful consideration which you hitherto have been good enough to devote to a really worthy cause.
Believe me, dear Mr. Ishiguro,
Very sincerely yours,
signed: E. Kann

Document 79

Anonymous
April 3, 1940
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, vol. 63, no. 81, 2.
New York Public Library

Japanese Bribing Emigres for Votes
Relatives Getting Landing Permit
Canvassers in Council Election Woo Minorities

Japanese canvassers for votes in the Shanghai Municipal Council elections are holding out tempting bait to European emigrés living north of the creek in their latest move. "Vote for the five Japanese candidates," they say, "And we'll give permission for your relatives to enter Shanghai."

The Nipponese have established a canvassing office in Chaoufoong Road, where two Japanese work, aided by four emigrés from Germany. They are doing all they can to secure minority votes, in their drive to put five Japanese on the SMC, instead of the two accepted for years under a gentlemen's agreement.

It is believed, however, that most of the German Jewish qualified voters live south of the creek, where they are not subject to Japanese pressure or blandishments. It is also believed that only half of the German voters in Shanghai are Nazis.

Japanese voters are expected to follow their usual tactics this year in plumping for their representatives, and not voting for anyone else, and for once the American and British voters are expected to follow their example.

In past years the majority of British and American voters have voted for the two Japanese candidates as well as their own with the result that the Nipponese have been top of the poll. This year Britons and Americans are not likely to vote for the Nipponese.

Document 80

Meir Birman[177] *(HIAS) to Dr. Braun (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland)*[178]
April 15, 1940
Typewritten letter (copy?), 2 pages; page 2 has the typewritten heading "3794 [sic], 15.4.40, Reichsvereinigung, Seite 2."
CAHJP, DAL 161b

5794 April 15, [194]0

Herrn Dr. Braun,
Reichsvereinigung der Juden
in Deutschland, Abt. Wanderung
Berlin N 4, Artilleriestr. 31

Betr. Einwanderung nach Shanghai.
Sehr geehrter Herr Dr. Braun,

in den letzten 14 Tagen haben die Japanischen Behoerden etwa 150–200 Permits ausgegeben, fuer Verwandte von Personen, die sich schon in Shanghai befinden. Es handelte sich hierbei jedoch nur um eine besondere Gelegenheit, die nicht so bald wiederkehren wird, und es ist nicht daraus zu schliessen, dass es nun etwa in diesem Sinne weitergehen wird.

Da es sich bei diesen Permits um solche des Japanischen Generalkonsulats handelt, nehmen wir an, das zweifellos seitens der Vertretungen Mandschukuos in Europa keine Schwierigkeiten gemacht werden, was das Transitvisum anbelangt. Bis auf Personen, die staatenlos sind, und kein Durchreiserecht durch die USSR haben, koennen also bei all diesen Auswanderern die Devisen gespart werden, abgesehen davon, dass die Landfahrt noch um 2/3 billiger ist. Wir koennen uns vorstellen, und haben auch aus Ihren bisherigen Telegrammen doch wohl richtig entnommen, dass eine Genehmigung des Japanischen Generalkonsulats nur fuer die Settlementspermits benoetigt wird. Denn die Permits, die der Japanische Generalkonsul selber ausgibt, braucht er doch wohl nicht noch zu genehmigen! Wir waeren Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie uns ueber die Entwicklung der Auswanderung nach diesen Permits auf dem Laufenden halten wuerden, zumal ueber die Visumfrage usw.

177 About Birman, see ch. 1, n. 79.
178 For the Reichsvereinigung, see the General Introduction, n. 12.

Es versteht sich auch dass, falls die Moeglichkeit zum Landweg besteht, wir sie bitten moechten, solchen Personen in keinem Fall eine Schiffspassage zu bezahlen oder auch nur zu vermitteln.

Was nun die Verpflegung unterwegs angeht, so haben wir ein Telegramm aus Bruessel bekommen, dass 100.– U.$.A. [sic] per Luftpost fuer diese Zwecke ueberwiesen werden, die einen Sonderfonds in Harbin bilden sollen. Wir hoffen, dass auch das Tientsiner Komite[179] [sic] einen kleinen Zuschuss wird geben koennen, sodass in dieser Frage Sie es dann nicht noetig haetten, extra mit der Belhicem[180] zu verhandeln. Ausserdem hat auch das Deutsche Konsulat in |2| Moskau seine Hilfe nicht versagt in Faellen, wo absolut alle Mittel fehlten und es sich um etwas Kleingeld handelte.

Wir erwarten mit Interesse Ihre w.[181] ferneren Nachrichten ueber die Entwicklung in diese [sic] Frage, und zeichnen,
hochachtungsvoll
M. Birman, Manager
B/N.

179 Founded in Tianjin in the early twentieth century by Jewish emigrés, the Tientsin Hebrew Association aimed to give various kinds of support to local poor Jews; cf. Association of Former Residents of China in Israel [Igud Yotzei Sin] (ed.), Jewish Communities of China. Tianjin, <http://www.jewsofchina.org/tianjin> (June 3, 2016). For the Tianjin Jewish community, see ch. 7, n. 20.

180 BELHICEM was the Brussels-based special Belgian branch of HICEM.

181 "Weiteren."

Document 81

Anonymous (Modern Millinery Company)[182] *to Paula Laufer*[183]
August 18, 1939
Cable; 1 page; the sheet is a printed cable form from the Deutsche Reichspost; the English text is typewritten, a German translation was added by hand below.
DÖW, Akt 16230

Deutsche Reichspost

Aus 40 DUNEDINNZ LH933 18 17 1603 IMP = VIA EAST HMB =
Aufgenommen H 678 18. Aug 39 Hr
DLT = PAUL [sic] LAUFER VIENNA STAUDIJNGERGASSE [sic] 11/28 GERMANY =

GOVERNMENT PERMIT OBTAINED PROCEED NEW ZEALAND IMMEDIATELY = MODERN MILLINERY COMPANY +

{Governement [sic] Erlaubnis erhalten. Kommet [sic] Neuseeland augenblicklich.
Moderne Hutfabrik Gesellschaft.}

182 The New Zealand company acted as guarantor for Paula Laufer's immigration to New Zealand; this document and all other relating documents mentioned in the footnotes below are kept at the DÖW, Akt 16230, now available on <http://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/vernichtung-deportationen-nach-maly-trostinec-1942/paula-laufer-vermisstes-permit> (November 6, 2017).

183 Laufer, born May 28, 1908, was a milliner from Vienna. She died on September 18, 1942, in the Maly Trostinec extermination camp. Her entry permit for Shanghai was declared invalid after the outbreak of war (Document 82). A second permit allowing her to enter the International Settlement was issued by the SMC and signed by Paul Komor on April 28, 1942. This permit, however, was not accepted by the German authorities because it was submitted without a proper envelope (Document 83). After all attempts to obtain an entry permit had failed, Laufer and Arthur Ranzenhofer (see below, n. 194) tried to flee together, but were caught on the Austro-Hungarian border on February 13, 1942.

Document 82

Moritz Adolf Laufer[184] *to Anonymous (Modern Millinery Company)*[185]
January 15, 1940
Typewritten letter, 1 page; the page has the printed letterhead of the CAEJR.
Microfilm, YVA, 4/054 2091243; DÖW, Akt 16230

COMMITTEE FOR THE ASSISTANCE
OF EUROPEAN JEWISH REFUGEES IN SHANGHAI
Disbursement and Housing Committee

Shanghai, January 15, 1940.

Moritz Adolf Laufer
138 Ward Road,
p. A. Poste restante, General Post Office.

Modern Millinery Ltd.,
258 Cumberland Street
Dunedin C.1 N.Z.

Gentlemen,

Some months ago I have written to your esteemed firm regarding my sister and await your esteemed reply. Now I have heard from my sister Paula Laufer in Vienna XX., Staudingerg. 11/28 that the permits which are issued before the beginning of war are unvalid [sic] and therefore she is asking that you may be kind enough in sending her a new permit issued from this year.

I should be very much obliged to you if you would be so kind in sending the new permit not to Vienne [sic] but to my Shanghai address.

Thanking you again for the kindness which you have done for my sister and I hope that you will favour me with your esteemed reply by return of mail.
Always ready at your service, I beg to remain,
Gentlemen,
Yours very truly

184 Moritz Adolf (Dolfi) Laufer (1894–1976) was Paula Laufer's brother; he came to Shanghai in 1939. After the war, he settled in the United States.

185 For this company, see above, n. 182.

Document 83

[Illegible] (Auslandbriefprüfstelle)[186] *to Paula Laufer*[187]
June 13, 1941
Typewritten letter, 1 page; the letter has a printed letterhead; the registry number and date were inserted by typewriter.
DÖW, Akt 16230

Auslandbriefprüfstelle Berlin
Nr. 15710 / 41 J
Betr.: Vermißtes Permit
Bezug: Ihr Schrb. v.[188] 3.6.41

Berlin W 62, den 13. Juni 1941
Budapester Str. 20
Fernsprecher 25 92 01

Fräulein
Paula S. Laufer
Wien 2/27
Förstergasse 7/29

In den Anlagen werden der an Sie gerichtete Brief aus Shanghai (R-Nr.4330) und der von Ihnen eingesandte Freiumschlag zurückgegeben. Das Permit ist sr. Zt.[189] von hier an die Ausstellungsbehörde nach Shanghai zurückgeschickt worden, weil es ohne den dazugehörigen Briefumschlag vorgelegt wurde und der Sachbearbeiter deshalb nicht feststellen konnte, daß es für Sie bestimmt war. Wer das bedauerliche Versehen verschuldet hat, konnte nicht ermittelt werden.
{R̊
I.A.[190]
##enheim.}
2 Anlagen
Gef. v. S.[191]

186 The Auslandbriefprüfstelle was a department of the Abwehr, the German military intelligence service. Its headquaters were in Berlin. Among its tasks were the translation and censorship of letters.
187 About Laufer, see above, n. 183.
188 Schreiben vom.
189 Seiner Zeit.
190 Registratur (?); Im Auftrag.
191 Gefertigt von S.

Document 84

Jakob Bauer[192] *to Paula Laufer*[193]
Artur Ranzenhofer[194] *to Jakob Bauer*
June 24, 1942; October 18, 1942
Official ICRC cable, 1 page (recto and verso); the printed letterhead and form text (all in English, German, and French) have not been fully reproduced. The inquiry text on the front was typewritten; the reply on the back was handwritten. Both sides have the stamps of the ICRC.
DÖW, Akt 16230

COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX ROUGE
ENQUIRER

Bauer Jakob
Post Office Box No. 1131
Shanghai
China

LIEBSTE PAULA
HOFFE DICH GESUND. BIST DU VERHEIRATET? VON HEDWIG HATTEN BERICHT. UNS GEHT ES GUT. WAS IST MIT SCHACHERL?
KUESSEN ALLE
FINI JENOE DOLFI
24. Juni 1942

ADDRESSEE
Laufer Paula
Foerstergasse 7/29
Vienna
Germany

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192 Jakob (Jenö) Bauer (1892–?), a merchant from Vienna, was the husband of Paula Laufer's sister Josefine (Fini; 1900–?), a dressmaker.

193 About Laufer, see above, n. 183.

194 Artur Ranzenhofer (1899–1943) was Paula Laufer's fiancé. After their failed escape attempt and forced return to Vienna, he was erroneously released from detention by the Zentralstelle, but caught again and finally deported to Auschwitz in November 1942, where he died; cf. <http://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/vernichtung-deportationen-nach-maly-trostinec-1942/paula-laufer-vermisstes-permit> (November 6, 2016).

[|v|] REPLY
MESSAGE TO BE RETURNED TO ENQUIRER
(not over 25 words, family news of strictly personal character).

Meine Lieben!
Paula leider am 14. Sept. verreisst [sic]. Schacherl ebenfalls. Paula lässt Alle herzlichst grüssen. Bitte grüssen Sie meine Verwandten. Käthe ist gesund.
Grüsse
Ranzenhofer
Wien 18. Okt. 1942

Document 85

W. Guttman (UK Search Bureau)[195] *to Josefine Bauer*[196]
September 1946[197]
Typewritten letter, 1 page; the letterhead was typewritten.
DÖW, Akt 16230

UNITED KINGDOM SEARCH BUREAU FOR GERMAN, AUSTRIAN AND STATELESS PERSONS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE.

WG/MES/CF.98531

Bloomsbury House
Bloomsbury Street
London, W.C.1

Mrs. Josefine Bauer,
599, House 35,
Tongsham [sic] Road
SHANGHAI
China

195 The United Kingdom Search Bureau for German, Austrian and Stateless Persons from Central Europe (UK Search Bureau) was established in June 1944; it later became a section of the British Red Cross Foreign Relations Department, and was in touch with dozens of other affiliated organizations; cf. Jenny Edkins, Missing. Persons and Politics, Ithaca N.Y./London 2011, 65 f.

196 About Bauer, see above, n. 192.

197 The letter has no date, yet the postal stamp on the envelope says that the letter was posted on September 10, 1946.

Dear Madam,

re: Paula LAUFER – 28.5.08 Vienna

Some time ago your [sic] asked us to make enquiries for your sister, Mrs. Laufer, and we have now been informed by the Red Cross that, unfortunately, your sister was sent to Minsk on 14.9.42.

We are extremely sorry to have to convey such distressing news, but should any further information come to hand, we shall notify you immediately.
Yours faithfully,
{W. Guttman
##}SECRETARY

Document 86

Meir Birman[198] *(HIAS) to HIAS*[199] *(New York)*
September 11, 1941
Typewritten letter (copy?), 1 page; several words have been crossed out by typewriter.
CAHJP, DAL 99

By AIR MAIL
22319 Sept. 11th [194]1
"HIAS"
New York.

Re: Judith SPITZER, 14 years
Maison d'enfants, Chateau Montintin,
commune de Chateau-Chervix par
Magnac-Bourg,
& Michael SPITZER 10,
Vitry s. Seine, 22 Av. G. Clemenceau,
Institue [sic] Medico-Pedag

Dear Sirs,

The parents of the children are here, since beginning of 1939, and for two years have been endeavoring to bring them over here. One of them, the girl, is in South of France, while the other in occupied part of France. There lives

198 About Birman, see ch. 1, n. 79.
199 For HIAS, see ch. 1, n. 4.

also an uncle of the children, Mr. Willy Spitzer, 29 Blvd. Louis Blanc, Limoges, unoccup. France.

The parents here obtained for the children permits for Shanghai and now prolonged them. These were airmailed to the uncle. As regard [sic] transportation, the parents contributed US$ 150,000, the utmost they could, they told us. US$ 50 were lent them by the firm where Dr. Spitzer[200] is employed and for US$ 75 guaranteed Miss L. Margolis of Joint. The latter amount Dr. Spitzer pays us in monthly instalments of US$ 5.00.

At present the parents are extremely worried, for we have received the following cable from Hicem, Marseille, with whom we are in constant correspondence on this case (air mail and cable):

"Yours August 31 Spitzer participation insufficient ask 150 Dollars each child."

It was in result of this cable that the firm lent him 50 dol., Dr. Spitzer informed us. They are naturally anxious to have both their children with them and have applied to us with a request that their cousin in your country be contacted with a view of inducing her to be of help in this respect. The cousin is:

Mrs. Kaete Philippsberg, 290 Washington Street,
East Stroudsburg, Pa.

Will you kindly get in touch with her? We understand that Dr. Spitzer has also written you direct on the matter.

~~Mrs. Philippsberg remitted here for Dr. Spitzer's mother US$ 30, for a permit for her, which unfortunately he has been unable to obtain. He has applied to Mrs. Ph. with a request.~~

Hoping duly to hear from you and thanking you in advance,
yours sincerely,
M. Birman
manager
B/H

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200 The physician Franz Spitzer (1895–?), his wife Louise (1900–?), and their two children fled to France in 1938. Leaving the children in French children's homes, the couple arrived in the following year in Shanghai. After the war, the family reunited and settled in Switzerland. For this information, special thanks to Anne Sinclair from Idar-Oberstein for sharing a three-page letter written by Louise Spitzer and dated November 7, 1946. Mrs. Spitzer sent this letter from Shanghai to her friends, the Goerg family in their former home town of Tiefenstein.

Document 87

Anonymous (Board of the Jüdische Gemeinde, Shanghai)[201]
December 17, 1941
Printed appeal, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, no. 25, 1.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.7

AUFRUF

Die Juedische Gemeinde fordert die gesamte juedische Emigrantenschaft auf, alle Anordnungen, die von ihr im Auftrag der Japanischen Behoerden erlassen werden, striktest und gewissenhaft zu befolgen.

Jede oeffentliche Diskussion, insbesonders auf Strassen und in Verkehrsmitteln hat zu unterbleiben. Die Juedische Gemeinde kennt ihre Verantwortung und verlangt auch das gleiche Verantwortungsbewusstsein von der juedischen Emigrantenschaft.

Ruhe und Disziplin sind das oberste Gebot in dieser Zeit! Jedes Verhalten, das diesen Grundsaetzen zuwider laeuft, schaedigt unsere Gemeinschaft!
Shanghai, 17. Dezember 1941
Vorstand der Juedischen Gemeinde

201 The Jewish refugees from Austria and Germany founded the Jüdische Gemeinde in November 1939. The first election for its board was held in June 1941. Over time, the Jüdische Gemeinde maintained the Arbitration Court (Schiedsgericht), a Women's Association (Frauenbund), a synagogue, a cemetery and a Chevra Kadisha, a Talmud Torah School, and a press organ, the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*. In April 1943 the Japanese authorities dismissed the board of the Jüdische Gemeinde, demanding that all future matters of the Jewish refugees should be regulated by SACRA.

Document 88

Rose Shoshana Kahan[202]
1949
Printed diary, R. Shoshana Kahan, In fayer un flamen. Togbukh fun a yidishe shoyshpilern [In Fire and Flames. Diary of a Jewish Actress]. Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun poylishe yidn in Argentine, 406 pages (excerpts, pp. 289f.).
The first of the two passages published here and other parts of the diary have been translated into English in Irene Eber, Voices from Shanghai. Jewish Exiles in Wartime China, Chicago/London 2008, 107–118.[203]
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

8. דעצעמבער [1941]
וואס וועט איצט זיין? ווידער זענען מיר אין פייער פון מלחמה. רבנו של עולם, נאך וויניק ״געליטן״? היינט אינדערפרי האָט אויסגעבראָכן די פּאַציפיק־מלחמה. יאַפּאַן און אמע־ריקע. נישטאָ שוין קיין שטיקעלע ערד אויף גאָטס וועלט ווו עס איז רואיק. אַלע חברים לויפן אַרום ווי פּאַרסמטע מייז... איצט בלייבן מיר שוין דאָ איינגעזייפּטע. פּאַרשוונדן די לעצטע האָפּענונג... אָן יעדער הילף. ביז אַהער האָט מען נאָך געקריגן אַ פּאַר גראָשן פון ״דזשאָינט״, זייט פּרל. מארגוליעס פון דעם ״דזשאָינט״ איז געקומען, איז בכלל די לאַגע פּאַר די פּליטים אַביסל לייכטער געוואָרן. איבערהויפּט האָט ״איסט־דזשוקאָם״ איבערגענע־מען צו פּאַרוואַלטן מיט די פּוילישע און ליטווישע יידן, און מיר האָבן גאָרנישט צו טון מיטן שפּילמאַן־קאָמיטעט. נאָר מיט דעם קאָמיטעט, וואָס באַשטייט פון אָנגעזעענע בירגער. דער ״איסט דזשוקאָם״ שטייט אין קאָנטאַקט מיטן ״דזשאָינט״ און איצט וועט מען דאָך נישט קענען דערהאַלטן געלט פון אויסלאַנד. פּאַרוואָרפן אין אַן אַזיאַטיש לאַנד... וועט ווייס וואָס עס וועט נאָך פּאָרקומען מיט אונדז...
20. דעצעמבער

202 Rose Shoshana (Rosa Shoshano) Kahan (1895–1968; née Esther Ruda Bravarska, also known as Ruzha Yakubovitsh) was a Yiddish actress and writer. Born in Łodz, she began acting while still in elementary school. She married Lazar Kahan in 1912 while appearing in numerous performances in the Yiddish theater. Shortly after the outbreak of World War II she fled to Lithuania. In 1940, she was still performing in Kovno, and traveled from there to Kobe, Japan. After her husband passed away in Shanghai, she emigrated to the United States in 1946. There she continued an active writing career with articles in the Yiddish paper *Forverts*; cf. Zalman Zylbercweig (ed.), Leksikon fun yidishn teater [Encyclopedia of the Yiddish Theater], 6 vols., New York 1931–1969, here vol. 3 (1959), 2245.

203 I thank Rabbi Marvin Tokayer for making this rare book available to me.

ביטער! אַזוי ווי מען האָט פאָראויסגעזען. קיין הילף איז נישטאָ... איך האָב געמוזט די־
נגען אַ ביליקער צימער. נישט לאַנג געפרייט זיך אין מיין גרויס צימער. געגומען זייער אַ
קליין צימערל אויף "בורזשא"־גאַס. מיין פאַרדינטער "אוצר" פון קאָנצערט־אָוונט הייבט
אָן טאָגן... איך האָב שוין געהאַט בייגעקומען אַלע שוועריקייטן. שוין געהאַט געשמאַק
פֿראָבירט "דאָס גליק פון מאָרגן", דאָט די נייע מלחמה אונדז אַלעמען דערלאַנגט אַ שרעק־
לעכן קלאַפ און קיינער האָט שוין נישט געקלערט |290| וועגן שפילן... איך דריי זיך אויף
די גאַסן און זוך צו קויפן אַ פּאָר שאַכטלען דזשעם. מען מוז דאָך אויך עפּעס פאָרבעריטן.
די געשעפטן זענען כסדר באַלאַגערט. מ׳קריגט שוין גאָרנישט צו קויפן. איך זע פאַר זיך
וואַרשע... וועל איך האָבן כח נאָך אַמאָל דאָס דורכצולעבן? דאָרט בין איך אָבער געווען
אין מיין אייגענער היים צווישן אייגענע און דאָ?... צווישן אַן אַזיאַטיש פאָלק... און מען
מורמלט שוין, אַז אין אַלעם זענען שולדיק די ווייסע טייוולאָנים... זיי ברענגען קריג אויף
דער וועלט... די "ווייסע" ציטערן. נישטאָ, ווער עס זאָל זיך אָננעמען. שאַנכיי איז אַ הפקר־
שטאָט.

Translation

December 8, [1941]

What will be now? We are again in fire and war. God in heaven, haven't we suffered enough? This morning the Pacific War broke out. Japan and America. No longer is there a little piece of God's world that is at peace. All our friends run about like poisoned mice … now we remain here completely deceived. The last hope disappears … without any help. Until now one still received a few cents from the "Joint," after Ms. Margolis of the Joint came here the situation had become somewhat easier for the refugees. Eastjewcom had taken over all negotiations with the Polish and Lithuanian Jews so that we had nothing to do with the Speelman committee. Only with the committee which exists of respected citizens. Eastjewcom has been in contact with the Joint, but now it will no longer be possible to receive money from abroad. Tossed into an Asian country … who knows what will now happen with us …

December 20, [1941]

Bitter! As one could have predicted. No help has arrived … I had to rent a cheaper room. I did not enjoy for long my large room. I have taken a very small room in Rue Bourgeat. The "treasure" that I earned from my concert evening is running low … I had already overcome all difficulties. Had already tried a taste of "tomorrow's happiness" when the new war gave everyone a terrible jolt. No one any longer thinks of |290| performing … I roam the streets and search to buy a few containers of jam. One has to prepare something. The stores are literally besieged. There is already nothing to buy. I see

before me Warsaw … do I have the strength to live through this again? But there I was in my own home among my own people and here? … Among an Asian people … Already there are rumors that the white devils are to blame for everything … They bring war to the world … the "whites" tremble. No one here will be accepted. Shanghai is a lawless city.

Document 89

Laura Margolis[204] *(JDC)*
Fall/winter 1943/1944[205]
Typewritten report (copy?), 23 pages.
Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 463

Abstract
This long and detailed report by Margolis deals with several significant issues concerning the refugees. These are: how to raise funds to feed the needy refugees; how to cope with the move to Hongkou; how to select suitable leadership for the refugees; and, after she is interned and unable to offer further guidance, how to assure even their minimal well being. Her insights to the characters of several important individuals in the refugee community are especially valuable.

204 About Margolis, see ch. 3, n. 33.

205 Margolis was interned on February 25, 1943, then transferred to the Shanghai General Hospital, where she was informed that she would be included in a prisoner exchange. When she returned to the camp she began secretly compiling notes on her work for the JDC, which she successfully smuggled out upon her release in early September 1943. She arrived at Goa aboard a Japanese passenger ship on October 19, where she and other American prisoners were finally exchanged. From Goa she went on the MS Gripsholm to the United States, arriving on December 1, 1943; cf. Kerssen, Life's Work, 75–80. Margolis typed letters on the Gripsholm, and possibly also the report; Kerssen, however, implies that Margolis wrote the report some time after she had come home; cf. ibid, 81 f.

REPORT OF ACTIVITIES IN SHANGHAI, CHINA, FROM DECEMBER 1941, TO SEPTEMBER 1943[206]

The following is a report of the activity and the developments in Shanghai from December 8, 1941 (Pearl Harbor time in the Shanghai Zone) to February 25, 1943, when I was interned. Manuel Siegel, my associate, had been interned three weeks previously, on January 30, 1943. It is a report of the work done by both of us and, with the exception of some of the financial data, is entirely from memory, since we were not allowed to bring out any written material from Shanghai. Inasmuch as any material recorded from memory can lend itself to inaccuracies, I wish to leave this report open for any corrections or changes which Manuel Siegel may want to make upon his return here.

I believe it is important to have a detailed recording of the developments in Shanghai because even though other organizations, such as UNRRA[207] or the Red Cross, might be the first to enter the relief picture in the Far East after the war, I am firmly convinced that the J.D.C., too, will play a major role. The J.D.C. has become such a vital force in the lives of the 21,000 refugees in Shanghai that we will be called in again to continue our help and to participate actively in making some constructive plan for those of the 21,000 refugees who will be left.

A detailed chronological recording is also necessary so that no matter who the person might be who will tackle the situation in the future, he might be in full possession of all the facts; and will understand why we acted as we did at the time; and why we used the services of certain people who even as we used them, we knew to be undesirables. "Force majeur [sic]" played a great part in our actions and decisions.

Contrary to what most outsiders might think, our main problem was not the Japanese or their occupation of Shanghai. Working in an occupied country is a definite reality which one accepts, and since we were fully accepted by the Japanese authorities as the negotiators for the refugee population, it was simply a matter of getting to know the Japanese mentality, accepting that mentality as one of the limitations within which we had to work, and proceeding from that point.

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206 Though Margolis announces a report up to "February 25, 1943," the headline indicates "[up] to September 1943."

207 The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration program was established in 1943 on the initiative of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China.

Our greatest difficulties and handicaps were: (1) the situation which had developed prior to Pearl Harbor between the refugees and the then existing Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (please refer to all previous reports from Shanghai); (2) the complete apathy of all local Jewry to the refugee problem; (3) the lack of good leadership both within the refugee group itself and the local Jews; and (4) the absence of a real Jewish community in the Western sense.

I should like to state that at no time did we have a real choice when it became necessary to appoint leaders or committees. We had to accept the best that Shanghai had to offer. The best which Shanghai had to offer (with the exception [of][208] three members of the present Shanghai J.D.C., Mr. J. Bitker, Dr. Lang[209] and Mr. Mor[itz] Glueckman [sic])[210] were either men who accepted responsibility because they were forced by the Japanese (Ashkenazi community composed for the most part of stateless Rus[sian] Jews at the present time organized into S.A.C.R.A.), or men or groups with stron[g] power drives, like, Mr. C. Brahn,[211] the present chairman of the Shanghai J.D.C., and the Kitchen Fund Committee[212] composed of refugees.

I think it will be apparent that no matter when the J.D.C. begins to f[unction] again directly, there will be a need for a real reshuffling of local leadersh[ip,] an entirely different type of local committee.

|2| One week before Pearl Harbor, Mr. Siegel and I had met with the Committee for Assistance and all present agreed that we were to begin the reorganization of the administrative machinery of the Committee on December 8, 1941. On that morning we were scheduled to go to Hongkew to begin our work, but at 4 o'clock in the morning the battle of Shanghai began simultaneously with the attack on Pearl Harbor and was followed by the occupation of the city. During the first week enemy nationals were ordered to stay in their homes and await instructions regarding registering with the Gendarmerie,

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208 Several line endings are illegible because the page is torn.

209 Dr. Lang was a refugee from Austria where he had been a senior official at the Social Security and Public Employment Service. In Shanghai he worked for the JDC, eventually becoming a member of its committee and working closely with Wachsner (later Bitker) and Glückmann. Margolis and Siegel highly appreciated his work (see Documents 89 and 171).

210 Glückmann, a merchant from Vienna, was Margolis's personal secretary; see below in this document.

211 About Carl Brahn, see below in this document.

212 The Kitchen Fund was founded in August 1942 to raise local money for feeding and housing the refugees, see Documents 89 and 171. For further information about the Kitchen fund; cf. Eber, Wartime, 166 f., 192 f.; Ristaino, Port, 145 f.

securing passes to move about the city, etc. Since most of the Committee for Assistance were also enemy nationals, the Chairman being Dutch and the rest of the members British, they, too, were in the same position as ourselves. The only person free to act was Capt. Herzberg, the paid executive of the Committee for Assistance, a man of German parentage, born and raised in Shanghai (he was stateless). The J.D.C. December allotment had not arrived and in order to give himself time to make some plan, Capt. Herzberg immediately reduced the 8000 refugees then on relief from two meals to just a noon meal a day and reduced the bread rations from 12 to 6 ounces. This simple ration of one meal and six ounces of bread daily cost $ 5000 CRB[213] a day. He estimated that on this basis he could at least operate until the end of December. He also immediately notified the staff of 500 employees that the Committee would probably have to close by the first of January; that they would receive no more pay and that nobody was responsible for what happened after January 1st. This led to chaos in the refugee community, with the staff as well as the refugees threatened by hunger and uncertainty.

By December 15th we were told that the Japanese would not intern enemy nationals "for the present" and that we would have the freedom of the city as long as we were orderly and obeyed all of the regulations placed upon the community by the military authorities. We therefore approached Mr. Speelman, chairman of the Committee for Assistance, and Ellis Hayim, vice-chairman, and suggested that they had the responsibility of letting the Japanese authorities know what the refugee situation was and that no more funds were available after the end of the month. Capt. Inuzuka of the Japanese Naval Landing Party had previous to Pearl Harbor been known to us as the Japanese person in charge of Jewish affairs. Mr. Speelman, Mr. Hayim and Mr. Abraham, three members of the Committee for Assistance, went to see Capt. Inuzuka. He listened to their story, but his only response was that he would have no dealings with any of these three men, who prior to Pearl Harbor had constantly defied him and the Japanese Naval Landing Party (the area in which the refugees lived, Hongkew, had been under the control of the Japanese Naval Landing Party since 1937). Capt. Inuzuka virtually threw the men out of his office.

~~On December 12th~~ {Early in Dec.} we received a cable from J.D.C. authorizing us to borrow a six months' allotment, which was the equivalent of $ 180 000 (U.S.). Prior to the receipt of this cable we had contacted the American Red Cross for any possible help which might be forthcoming from that source and were able to get a promise of 5000 sacks of cracked wheat if the Japanese would release these to us.

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213 Central Reserve Bank.

In view of the fact that we had the potentiality for raising money and get[ti]ng[214] supplies from the American Red Cross, we felt it was our responsibility to [co]ntact the Japanese. We were very graciously received by Capt. Inuzuka about two [hou]rs following our note asking for an interview. Capt. Inuzuka listened very [int]ently and sympathetically to our story. He was already well acquainted with [the] general facts from previous contacts we had had with him (before Pearl Harbor). [We] explained that although we had the possibility of raising money on J.D.C. credit [we] still felt it was our responsibility to tell the Japanese what the situation [rea]lly was in case we would not be successful. We also pointed out that we did not want |3| to proceed with any plans for raising money unless we had the approval of the Japanese. In addition, the Committee had frozen funds in the Chase Bank (Chinese currency) which if released, could keep us going until we began to raise money on our loan. Capt. Inuzuka made it very clear to us that we could depend upon his full cooperation and help and that he would O.K. the raising of money on our loan if the money was borrowed only from neutrals; that he would investigate the possibilities of releasing the frozen funds as well as getting us the necessary permits for releasing the cracked wheat owned by the American Red Cross. However, he stated he would do these things only if we would take over responsibility for the problem and would dissolve the present Committee for Assistance. He was obviously terribly antagonistic toward that group of men. He also insisted that the executive, Capt. Herzberg, with whom he had had many previous clashes, be fired. (Ellis Hayim had already been arrested by this time.)

Capt. Inuzuka was also antagonistic to the International Committee and its executive, Paul Komor. (This is the organization financed by Sir Victor Sassoon.)

Capt. Inuzuka agreed that we might continue to use the services of Mr. Speelman, who, although Dutch, had apparently not displeased him as much as the other members of the Committee.

Captain Inuzuka was very much concerned about why the J.D.C. could not remit funds directly. He also brought in the question of Mr. Morgenthau,[215] a Jew, being Secretary of the Treasury. Our explanation was simply that our respective countries being at war, we personally could not be responsible for any regulations made by our government no more than he could be responsible for regulations made by his government; but that we were simply

214 The second syllable of this word is at the beginning of the line; from this line on, several line beginnings are illegible because the page is torn.

215 Henry Morgenthau Jr. (1891–1967) was U.S. Secretary of the Treasury from 1934 to 1945.

appealing for his help on a humanitarian basis because we were in the midst of a problem which had to be dealt with regardless of external circumstances.

This was the approach we used with Capt. Inuzuka throughout all our dealings with him and we found it most effective. At one time when he asked us if we would send a direct cable to Mr. Morgenthau we refused on the basis that we personally had no relationship with him and that our only appeal could be to our Home Office. Capt. Inuzuka did succeed, however, in getting members of the Ashkenazi Communal Association and other Jews to send cables to Mr. Morgenthau. However, we felt that this was something which had to be decided between Capt. Inuzuka and these people and something which we could neither approve nor prevent.

Throughout the rest of December and January we were in constant contact with Capt. Inuzuka. His offices were in the Cathay Hotel where we, too, were living until the 15th January, 1942. We were in constant demand by him. On December 28th Capt. Inuzuka released $ 30,000 CRB which had been frozen in the Committee's account in the Chase Bank. The release of this money enabled us to operate six days in January. In the meantime, the panic in Hongkew was increasing daily. By the end of December we found it necessary to go out there, call a meeting of the staff and explain the situation to them as it actually existed. We also arranged for the staff to receive their salaries on December 31st for the entire month of December, which quieted the situation temporarily.

One of the members of the staff suggested that we contact a Japanese woman by the name of Mrs. Nogami[216] who had a very prominent position in the Gendarmerie as interpreter to the Chief.[217] Mrs. Nogami was known to be sympathetic to the refugees. She was a personal friend of a Mr. C. Brahn, a German Jew who had lived in Shanghai for over twenty years. We explained that we could not contact the Gendarmerie since all of our dealings were with the Navy,[218] but later spoke with the staff member |4| privately and suggested that if Mr. Brahn or Mrs. Nogami got in touch with us it would then be safe to tell them the story. (I should like to point out here that here is terrific competition between the Navy, Army, Gendarmerie and Consulate for power and that it is extremely dangerous to use the power of one against the other openly.)

On January 5th Mr. Speelman called a meeting at his office of 30 prominent and wealthy Jews. They were men of every nationality, including enemy nationals. We also invited to this meeting representatives of the Ashkenazi

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216 Kay Nogami, see below in this document.

217 The Gendarmerie (military police), the Kempeitai.

218 Margolis refers to the Japanese Naval Landing Party.

Community and the Juedische Gemeinde, which represented the refugee community. Mr. Speelman and we made a very dramatic plea to these people to help us raise money on a J.D.C. loan. I think I can truthfully say that our appeal was realistic and dramatic but the only positive response came from the two representatives of the Ashkenazi community, who insisted that something had to be and could be done. Mr. E. Kann, a Czech, who had been very active on the Committee for Assistance previously, took this occasion to resign from the committee and from all activity because of his "health." Mr. Abraham,[219] representing the Sephardic Jews and the most religious element of the Jewish community in Shanghai, stated that "since the Japanese took Shanghai they could also worry about the refugees." (The Abrahams are British subjects.)

The meeting broke up with the decision that a small group of five men would explore the possibilities for raising money on J.D.C. credit and that they would report to us within a week. Two days following this meeting we received an anonymous call to be at a given address at a given time. When we appeared we found a Siberian Jew named Zimmerman who had heard of the credit we had but who did not know about the J.D.C. and to whom the names of the leaders of the J.D.C. had no meaning. He agreed, however, that he would be willing to give us the sum of three and a half million Chinese dollars, which would have assured the program for the next six months, if not more than ten of the wealthiest Jews in Shanghai would just underwrite the J.D.C. credit. We were thrilled with this possible solution and immediately took the proposition to Mr. Speelman, who began to look for people to underwrite the J.D.C. loan. He himself underwrote it for $ 10,000 (U.S.) and beyond that he could only get an additional $ 15,000 (U.S.) underwritten. It was therefore impossible to get money from Mr. Zimmerman.

Early in January a group of refugees who played a very prominent part in the refugee program later, called us to meet with them in order to try and raise money locally in a "quick campaign." The leaders of this group were a Mr. Pulvermacher,[220] Dr. Silberstein and a Mr. Glazer. This group of men efficiently organized a campaign within the ranks of the wealthier refugee group and in a week's time brought to us $ 30,000 CRB. Thus we operated six more days.

During all of these negotiations with the Japanese and with various committees and individuals, it was also necessary for us to be in Hongkew or in constant touch with Hongkew daily. We immediately placed our secre-

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219 This was R. D. Abraham.

220 Erhard Pulvermacher (1904–1975) was a merchant from Berlin who came to Shanghai with his family in 1939. He acted as honorary treasurer of the Kitchen Fund from 1942 to 1945.

tary, Mr. Glueckmann, in the Central Administration office in Hongkew. We closed the Central Administration office in Mr. Speelman's building (in the International Settlement) and released Capt. Herzberg of his duties.

By January 10th it still looked as though we were going to get no response as far as the J.D.C. loan was concerned. Although we kept operating from day to day pushing off creditors and trying to stimulate and interest more and more people in the problem, we recognized that unless we could really raise enough money to insure the program for several months at a time; we might really have to close down |5| and turn the whole problem over to the Japanese. The latter in the meantime had made it quite clear to us in our negotiations with them that they could no more concern themselves with the Jewish refugee problem than they could with the masses of the poor and starving Russians and Chinese who filled Shanghai.

On January 10th we called a meeting of the Juedische Gemeinde and told them that our funds on that day were just enough to feed the 8000 on relief for four more days or feed 4000 for eight days. It was our opinion that if we could gain time in this race we might still "make it" and we wanted their help and cooperation in interpreting to the refugee group why we had to cut 4000 people categorically off relief. Since the Juedische Gemeinde was the official organization representing the refugees, we felt that we had to have their approval and their help in interpreting this measure to the refugee community. They agreed to do this and on that day 4000 refugees were categorically cut from the relief rolls. Those kept were approximately 2500 living in our camps who were the poorest of the group (we excluded all single men, even in our camps), children, old and sick. We also continued operating the two hospitals and the maternity ward.

When we realized that we were going to get no help from either the Sephardic community or the miscellaneous group of wealthy Jews living in Shanghai, we approached Mr. Bitker and Mr. Rabinowitz,[221] leading members of the Ashkenazi Community, and asked for their help. These two men accepted the problem as something which had to be met by the Jews and agreed to call a mass meeting of the Ashkenazi community to see what could be done about raising money on J.D.C. credit.

In the meantime Mr. Brahn, whom we did not know at that time, had been told about the situation and invited us to his home to discuss the problem and to find ways and means of helping us. We explained our position to him, namely that we were dealing exclusively with the Navy[222] and that under no circumstances could we go directly to the Gendarmerie to discuss

221 This is David Rabinovitch; the spelling Rabinowitsch was also used.

222 Margolis is referring to the Japanese Navy.

the problem. Mr. Brahn pointed out something which was very true; that is, that should the situation get out of hand in Hongkew, the Gendarmerie would be called in to quiet the riots and it was therefore very dangerous to let the matter reach this point. We agreed that if he wished to tell his friend, Mrs. Nogami, about the situation, and if she then wanted to send some one from the Gendarmerie to contact us, we would at least be clear as far as the Navy was concerned and would protect the refugees at the same time.

Shortly after our visit with Mr. Brahn, we received an official call from the Gendarmerie. We explained the situation to them, and what were our plans for raising money. They were obviously concerned with trying to keep peace and quiet in Hongkew and were most anxious to avoid any trouble at a time when they were trying to occupy the city with as little confusion as possible. They expressed the hope that riots would not break out in Hongkew – and that the local Jewish people would help us raise money.

By January 15th we were practically out of money and had reached a complete stalemate. The Navy had promised cooperation and in all fairness we must state that by releasing the frozen funds and obtaining release of the cracked wheat for us they had really done more for us than they had done for any other charitable or civic group. We recognized that they could not accept the problem of the refugees as their responsibility at this point since Shanghai was filled with hundreds of thousands of poor of all nationalities. The Gendarmerie was anxious to keep law and order, and the community was apathetic and uninterested and the Ashkenazi community was deliberating and debating about the J.D.C. credit. We realized that something very dramatic would have to break in order to stir the community out of its lethargy. It was just at 6 P.M., January 15th, that a reporter from the Shanghai Times came |6| to see us. Up to this point we had avoided the newspapers since we knew that the Japanese did not want this publicity. However, it seemed to us at this point the only thing we risked by breaking the story to the newspapers was the displeasure of the Japanese against our own persons. We could see no way out and so we gave the full story of the "Hungry Starving Refugees in Hongkew" to the Shanghai Times. On January 16th the paper appeared with the headlines. The Gendarmerie was furious that any news about disorder in Shanghai should get into the papers. Through Mr. Brahn we were told that an order had been issued by the Gendarmerie for our arrest. Capt. Inuzuka of the Navy called us and was furious. We had no apologies to offer except to say that we did not realize that giving the story to the newspapers was doing anything wrong. We received a call from the Japanese Consulate and were asked to come down there and "explain," so we went down and "explained." Through the efforts of Mrs. Nogami, Mr. Brahn's friend, the order for our arrest was recalled.

The radio stations also picked up the story of the refugees and began making appeals to the community at large for donations. We were getting the reaction we had hoped for. Money began coming in dribs and drabs and we kept going from day to day. Once the story was broken in the newspapers it became the subject of editorials and feature articles and the Ashkenazi community organized a committee to start raising money on J.D.C. loan. We got our first real break however, about the 20th of January.

Mr. Schumacher,[223] head of the Chase Bank in Shanghai, knew Mr. Kaufman, a German Jew of long residence in Shanghai who was a Chase Bank patron. He knew that this man had recently made a lot of money and sold him the idea of lending money to us against the "Immigrants' Deposit Account" which was of course a frozen account but which somehow appealed to Mr. Kaufman more than the J.D.C. credit. When Mr. Kaufman came to see us about the proposition we had no hesitancy in agreeing to give him a note against the "Immigrant's Deposit Account" because we knew that this note would have to be presented in New York for payment and could become part of the regular $ 180,000. J.D.C. loan. On January 20th we got our first real money from Mr. Kaufman – the equivalent of $ 10,000 (U.S.).

By this time the Ashkenazi community also had appointed a Finance Committee to work on prospects for our loan. And it was through the efforts of the Ashkenazi community that we really began to raise money. It was through them that we first met J. Shriro, a Russian Jew who has a Norwegian passport and who is extremely wealthy.[224] Mr. Shriro had considerable goods and cash which he was very anxious to transfer to the United States before the Japanese confiscated same. However, this did not make dealing with him any easier. He is a very difficult and shrewd business man. We had to make many concessions in rate to him, first because we needed money so desperately and second because it was difficult to find any one person in Shanghai who could give us the amounts which he could. Of the $ 180,000 which we raised on the first J.D.C. loan we got $ 138,000 from him. (Financial details will be discussed at the end of this report). Some loans were as low as $ 15.00 and $ 25.00 per loan.

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223 Alfred E. Schumacher (1896–1976) was an American banker who had spent 20 years in Shanghai, serving as manager of the Chase National Bank. He was repatriated in late 1943 on the exchange liner Gripsholm.

224 Jacob Shriro's family started a trading business in Harbin in 1906. Jacob himself came to Shanghai in 1934 and established a successful branch of the family business. In late 1942, he was interned in the Haiphong Road camp together with other prominent Europeans and Americans; cf. <http://www.shriro.com/index.php/en/about/the-shriro-story> (October 14, 2016).

I should like to state here that from the very beginning Mr. J. Bitker, a Polish national and a member of the Ashkenazi community was one of the very few people who saw the seriousness of the situation. He, too, is a very clever business man, but above everything else he is a realist. Mr. Bitker accepted the fact that unless the Jews of their own accord took on the responsibility for the refugees the Japanese would either take the matter into their own hands, to the detriment of the refugees, or would force the local Jews to take the responsibility. He was constantly working towards avoiding either of these conditions. He was our financial adviser in all negotiations. Mr. Bitker was always fully informed about |7| plans which the Japanese had for devaluating certain currencies and kept us constantly advised so that we were able to plan accordingly. For example, in June of 1942, the Japanese took all "fapi" money, which is Chungking money, off the market and issued CRB notes (Central Reserve Bank notes of Nanking) at a 2 to 1 rate.[225] We were advised by Mr. Bitker that this was going to happen so that when the proclamation was issued and everyone was given a week to turn in all fapi monies, the Committee had spent all its fapi and had only CRB notes left. We did not take the losses that most people did. The cost of living practically doubled over night at that time and in anticipation of this we used all our fapi cash to purchase food-stuffs and kept them in stock.

By the end of April 1942 we had practically the entire $ 180,000 credit pledged. Instead of operating, however, on the former basis, namely taking back all the 8000 refugees on relief, we planned to make this money last for at least eight months instead of six. We had no idea where or when we would get money or credit again. On May 21st we received our last cable from J.D.C. through South America asking that we discontinue all contact. This was probably one of the greatest shocks we received because we somehow felt that even though money could not be transferred directly contact with New York, though indirect, might bring an eventual solution.

While we were working on raising money on J.D.C. credit, we simultaneously began our re-organization of the Committee and the administrative machinery as had originally been planned for December 8th, 1941; and we began working towards more and more local participation as far as local contributions were concerned.

One of the things which we recognized immediately was that we had a tremendously cumbersome and inefficient apparatus, not to minimize the most important factor, a group of hostile, malnourished and desperately frightened people to work with. The refugees on relief in Shanghai had not only been underfed for years (the mass came in 1939 and 1940), but had

225 The fapi was a legal tender introduced by the Chinese in 1935. It circulated until 1948.

been totally and completely humiliated and deprived of every remnant of self-respect as adult human beings through the methods employed by the Committee for Assistance (refer to previous reports from Shanghai). There was a staff of 500 employees. There was an oldfashioned Chinese kitchen which required constant stoking and which was consuming more coal than we could pay for. The management of the kitchen was such that there was constant quarreling [sic] and disunity among the group. The state of malnutrition and pover{t}y among the employees was so bad that they had to steal from the storeroom in order to live. The average salary of a kitchen employee was $ 25 CRB a month which was just about $ 1.00 American money. We knew that stealing was going on. It was unavoidable.

Our first move in trying to make some contact with this large mass of employees was to call them to a meeting with us the first week in February, by which time we had some assurance that we might be able to raise money to go on. We told this mass of people exactly what the situation was. We told them frankly what the Committee's indebtedness was; what its cash assets were and what the possibilities were for going on. We admitted that we knew about their hostility and antagonism and admitted that to a large extent they were justified. We explained that the regime of the Committee had ended with the exception of the chairman, Mr. Speelman. We asked for their help and cooperation in building a more efficient internal administration and a more socially minded and representative Committee. We warned them that staff would have to be cut; that the apparatus then existing of 500 employees was not only unnecessary but at this time financially impossible. We explained that more and more responsibility for the running of the camps and the kitchen and the relief department would have to come from within the ranks of the refugee group itself. We also explained that although we felt we could operate for |8| a few months we could offer no guarantees and urged each and every one to find other employment wherever possible and that we would not consider it a sign of disloyalty. In view of the fact that cash was so limited at this time we agreed to issue an I.O.U. to them for their salaries for the month of January which could be cashed at any future date when monies were again transferrable from the United States to Shanghai. We felt that we owed them this since we had not given them any notice prior to January as to what would happen to them. We further explained that we could not guarantee any salary from this point on. Our first job would be to try to feed as many people as possible and to keep the hospitals going. At the end of each month we promised we would take an inventory of our assets, estimate possible future income and would then from month to month try to give the staff as much as we could. We suggested they appoint a staff committee of five people to work out this problem with us as well as other staff problems.

This was one of the most deplorable groups I have ever talked to. Most of them were badly clothed and badly fed. They looked depressed and hopeless, and yet towards the end of the meeting we felt a spirit among the group which told us that they were going to help us to see the problem through. Only one member of the staff resigned after this meeting. All the rest reported to work as usual the next day.

In an attempt to overcome hostility and because we felt it was only fair to the refugees to let them know the insecurity which they were all facing, we called meetings of the residents of each of our five camps separately and gave them a full explanation of the situation. We told them that more and more they would have to take over the administration and the running of their camps through their own leadership because we could not afford to keep paid staff. Each camp organized a small committee of five people with whom we dealt regularly in discussing plans. We also organized a small representative committee of the group of people living outside the camps who were on relief.

One man who was very helpful and who deserves special mention in this report is a polish Jewish engineer, Mr. A. Lovenspiel [sic],[226] who has lived in the Far East for many years and who is thoroughly familiar with the Chinese and conditions of China. He came in to see us and to offer his help having been sent by Mr. Brahn with whom he is acquainted. Mr. Levenspiel [sic] had for many years been trying to tell the old Committee for Assistance that their kitchen should be destroyed and a new one built which would be more efficient; but none of his suggestions were ever received kindly by the Committee for Assistance and Mr. Levenspiel was given no attention. We welcomed his help and from this time on Mr. Levenspiel spent practically all of his time with us in Hongkew. He calculated that it was costing 60¢ (Chinese money) per meal per person of which 50¢ was coal consumption and 10¢ was going into the food. Mr. Levenspiel drew up a plan whereby for $ 100,000 Chinese money (fapi at that time) we could have a very simple, modern and efficient steam kitchen which would have a capacity for feeding 10,000 people at one time. Mr. Levenspiel further discovered that the most necessary item for this kitchen was a special type of steam boiler which was in the possession of the Cathay Land Company (owned by Sir Victor Sassoon). The estimate for the structure, pipes and fixtures alone was $ 100,000. The type of boiler required could not be purchased in China at that time and so it became essential that we acquire those boilers owned by the Cathay Land Company which Mr. Levenspiel knew had not been used for many years. When we approached the

226 Abraham Levenspiel (1899–1976) was a Polish engineer who came to Shanghai in the early 1920s. After the war, he settled in Australia.

Cathay Land Company requesting them to lend us these boilers for the duration we were refused by the British employees. We felt justified however, in taking possession of the boilers because we knew that sooner or later they would be confiscated by the Japanese and would then be of no use either to the |9| Cathay Land or to the refugees. Therefore, with the help of Mrs. Nogami, we procured a removal permit for those boilers from the Gendarmerie and presented this permit to the Cathay Land Company. At this time the Japanese supervisor in charge of the Cathay Land Co. talked with Mr. Siegel about the matter and was most gracious about giving us permission to take the boilers and use them for the duration. We signed a statement to the effect that we were simply borrowing the boilers. We also immediately put away $ 100,000 for the new kitchen so that by the time the fapi devaluation came in June 1942 all the materials for the kitchen had been bought with fapi money and building had begun.

By the end of February we felt that we had an obligation to the Committee of Assistance, or rather what was left of it (Mr. Kann had resigned and Mr. Hayim was in jail), to give them some statement of what had happened since Pearl Harbor. There had been no time for a formal meeting although we were in constant consultation and touch with the chairman, Mr. Speelman.

The only people at the meeting were Mr. Speelman (Dutch), Mr. Abraham (British) and Horace Kadoorie (British). Mr. Siegel briefly summarized our findings with regard to the situation in Hongkew and very frankly told the group that the Commission was badly organized; was filled with corruption and that the refugees had been treated worse than coolies. We felt we had to tell them that the executive whom they had appointed and who had apparently been "running the show," Capt. Herzberg, was a man not worthy of dealing with human beings and that many of the refugee staff appointed by him and still functioning in Hongkew were the type of people who would eventually have to be dismissed because they were people of his calibre and mentality.

The reaction to this of course was not very gracious, but with the exception of Mr. Speelman we felt that neither of the other two men present had any intention of helping. Mr. Abraham had already expressed himself and Mr. Kadoorie, a member of a family capable of underwriting the entire J.D.C. note of $ 180,000, had refused to do anything to help. We therefore felt that for purpose of the record they should be told exactly what the situation was. Something had to be done in order to dissolve this committe [sic] (which was what the Japanese wanted also) and in order to form the basis for creating a new and much more representative community committee.

Mr. Kadoorie and Mr. Abraham resigned and refused to serve on the new Committee, whereas Mr. Speelman was most gracious about accepting the criticism and agreeing to help us see this thing through.

Prior to this meeting we had consulted with Capt. Inuzuka about forming a new committee and he had approved fully, asking however, that the Committee be composed of non-enemy nationals only and that he be given every name for approval. I should like to state here that throughout this period we kept in constant touch with Capt. Inuzuka at his request, seeing him both personally and constantly sending him reports of developments in Hongkew.

By March of 1942 we had definitely overcome the apathy of a very large portion of the community, had enlisted the full cooperation of the refugees in working through their problem and were at least assured of enough money to operate for one whole month at a time. In those days it seemed like a very great accomplishment to have enough money for a month ahead. We felt that this was the time to begin working on the organization of a new Committee. We were determined that this time the Committee would be representative of every section of Judaism in Shanghai. We therefore personally contacted the leaders of Sephardic community (representing the Bagdad and Near Eastern Jews), the Ashkenazi community (representing predominantly white Russians) and the Juedische Gemeinde (representing the refugees and German Jews). By this time also many individuals had come to us and offered to help. Everyone who came with an idea or suggestion was gladly received and numerous lay |10| people were actually taken into the work in Hongkew and given responsibilities in directing the program. Some were successful and some were not; but at least everyone was given the opportunity of participating.

Early in March, a meeting was held of the new Committee for Assistance in Mr. Speelman's office. Every group had sent representation. In addition, we had a Swiss Jew and members at large, such as Mr. Brahn and Mr. Levenspiel, who had both been extremely helpful and active in the work. There were approximately 25 men present. At the request of the Japanese the Municipal Council had sent a member of the police force to sit in at the meeting. Mr. Speelman opened the meeting and explained very effectively what had happened since Pearl Harbor, why the old Committee for Assistance had dissolved, and a new committee had to be formed. We took over the meeting after a brief introduction by Mr. Speelman and organized this large Committee into subcommittees for housing, feeding, fund-raising, finance and budget, purchasing, rehabilitation, etc. We were most emphatic about the temporary nature of our leadership, explaining that it is not J.D.C.'s policy at any time to take over a community's responsibility but that the situation in Shanghai after Pearl Harbor was so unique that we had to step into the emergency. It was our sincere desire to step out as quickly as local leadership was ready to take over. We explained that what we were doing at the present time was a job for a full-time professional executive and that we would be looking anxiously for a

person or persons who within the next few months might be able to take over in our place. We explained the functions of the new committee in working with and supervising the activities of the full-time worker, be he paid or a volunteer. Every man at the meeting signed up to serve on some committee and the first official action of the new Committee was to endorse and approve the building of the new kitchen. This group agreed to function under the same name as the former committee, namely, the Committee for the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai.

At this point of the report I think a word should be said specifically about the Polish refugees and the work of the East Jewcom, which committee had been organized before Pearl Harbor to act as a subcommittee of the Committee for Assistance and concerned itself specifically with the 1000 Polish refugees who had come from Japan in September and October of 1941. (Please refer to previous reports from Shanghai regarding East Jewcom.)

Before the Ashkenazi community would agree to help us in raising money on J.D.C. credit, Mr. Oppenheim, the Chairman of East Jewcom, made certain demands of us with regard to J.D.C. contribution for the Polish refugees. There had always been in Shanghai the problem of the difference in relief standards of the refugees from Eastern Europe and those from Central Europe. In view of the temporary nature of the Polish immigration in Shanghai and since we had been working very closely with Mr. Romer, the Polish Ambassador, in moving this group out of Shanghai, thus making mass feeding and housing impracticable, we had agreed, prior to Pearl Harbor, to a higher standard of relief for the Polish refugees. Our attitude, however, after Pearl Harbor was that the temporary status of these people was no longer a fact and that therefore relief should be administered on the same per capita basis. We had long and frequent and difficult meetings with the members of the East Jewcom about this. A few saw our point of view. The majority, lead by Mr. Oppenheim, the Chairman, a very stubborn though brilliant and able man, insisted that the East European refugees had to be given more money. We were forced into a compromise in the early part of 1942 because it was evident that we could not raise any money without the backing of the Ashkenazi community. The experience in fund-raising in Shanghai has since proven that we were right. Without them we could not have raised any money. We therefore had to make a concession to Mr. Oppenheim whereby we agreed to continue the same per- |11| centage of the monthly allotment to the East Jewcom after the outbreak of the war as had been granted previously, namely one-sixth of the allotment from New York had gone to the Polish refugees, or $ 5000 of the $ 30,000. Even though we felt that this was wrong, it was only after a bitter struggle that we gave in and compromised. Thus we were able not only to get the help of the Ashkenazi community in raising money for all the

refugees, but they agreed also to give us all of the money raised and then having it redisbursed back to them on the basis of one-sixth of the total raised.

In April of 1942 the rehabilitation subcommittee of the new Committee for Assistance began working with the refugees in the various camps in helping them to use their grounds for vegetable gardens. In the Chaufoong [sic] Road Camp, for example, several acres surrounding the camp were made into very fine gardens. It was amazing the spirit which the people showed during a time when they were definitely underfed. We also tried to call in the services to the Ort, which was functioning in Hongkew and had a very fine school there. Inasmuch as our people were underfed and did not even have the proper shoes, we asked the Ort to start their classes in our camps, offering to give the space and pay for any necessary additional equipment. However, we could not get them to change their program and organize their classes within our camps. They insisted that the young people come to them, something which in the spring of 1942 we could not ask of the youngsters, who did not have the energy for a twenty minute walk.

The problems which presented themselves in the months of April, May and June of 1942 were manifold. We were trying to get work out of hungry people. Rebellion on their part was understandable. The very refugees in need of help were the group which had to work to help themselves. We had to keep cutting staff because money had to go into food and materials. The camps were badly deteriorated and there was constant need for repairs. Nothing had been done to improve the physical conditions of these camps during the years when money was available. The refugees were living in the midst of filth, lice and the worst possible sanitary conditions. The spring and summer of 1942 was a typhus year and our hospitals were overcrowded. The general situation in Shanghai and the insecurity of the refugees themselves resulted in a state of panic among those people not living in the camps. Virtually hundreds of persons came to the Central Administration office every day to apply for admission to the already overfilled camps. At he same time that hundreds were applying to come in, we had to set in motion machinery for re-investigating each case in the camps because there were many people living in our camps who were less in need than some living outside. This was the result of the inefficient way in which the whole relief problem had previously been handled. During this period we needed figures and statistics desperately in order to plan ahead. These figures when given to us were time and again inaccurate and contradictory. Each time we tried to patch up or adjust some gap in the bookkeeping system we would find another gap. It finally became impossible to work without accurate figures and we had to dismiss the old personnel and employ Mr. Alfred Edel, a very competent public accountant, also a refugee, who had held a responsible position with a leading firm in

Shanghai before Pearl Harbor. We made a contract with Mr. Edel to put in full time on reorganizing the books and the entire relief and statistical system. We were very fortunate in finding Mr. Lutz Wachsner, a member of the board of the Juedische Gemeinde, who had become a member of the Committee for Assistance and had taken on a full-time job handling the housing problem. Mr. Wachsner worked and learned rapidly under our supervision. Eventually, he handled all intake and the investigation of the people residing in the camps as well as those receiving relief outside. We were fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Lang, a man who had had a very prominent and important position in setting up the Social Security and Public |12| Employment Service for Austria and who came to help us in starting an employment service in the spring of 1942. Mr. Brahn and Mr. Levenspiel were in Hongkew daily, Mr. Levenspiel directing the various gardening projects, the building of the kitchen, and Mr. Brahn helping primarily through his contact with the Japanese Gendarmerie in securing necessary permits whenever anything had to be moved. Permits had to be obtained for every item which came over the bridge from the International Settlement to Hongkew, including even the daily delivery of our bread. We also enlisted the full cooperation of the Quakers in Shanghai,[227] who worked with the residents at the Seward Road Camp, the largest camp, housing approximately 1000 people. They showed these people how to govern themselves most democratically; organized classes in English and discussion groups. The Quakers eventually took over clothing distribution from us. It was almost unbelievable to amount of activity and life within the refugee community at a time when they were hungrier than they had probably ever been before. An experience like this makes one fully conscious of how much might have been done with this same group at a time when they could have been well fed if the moneys going into Shanghai had been efficiently spent and if people administering those funds had cared more for the refugees.

When on May 21st we received the cable from J.D.C. telling us that we were not to continue any more communication, we realized that Shanghai Jewry was entirely on its own and would from this point on have to survive on its own resources. We first appealed to the International Red Cross and put the problem to them. Mr. Egle,[228] who was extremely sympathetic, explained that the International Red Cross could only act as an agency for the

227 The Quakers ran a small Friends Center in Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s, providing help to refugees, including daily meals from 1938 on.

228 The Swiss Edouard (Edward) Egle was the director of a Swiss import-export enterprise in Shanghai and Swiss Consul-General. In 1942 he became the official delegate of the ICRC in Shanghai; see also ch. 5, n. 74.

transmission of cables and that he would agree to the supervision of funds transmitted for the use of the refugees but that no financial help could be expected directly from the International Red Cross.

We also explained to the Committee for Assistance, at the May meeting, that an intensive effort would have to be made to get as much money as possible locally. Regular local contributions were very little. Local contributions had at no time been in proportion to the giving capacity of the rich Jews in Shanghai. Since these rich Jews, however, were now enemy nationals it was useless to think of contributions from them. It simply meant that smaller individual contributions would have to be made, but that everyone would have to contribute. A plan was evolved by Mr. Wachsner which he called the "Patenschaft" idea. It was estimated that $ 50 (Chinese money) a month would feed one refugee, and he began working on a plan whereby the whole community would be canvassed for "Patenschaften," each "Patenschaft" being $ 50 a month. This idea was enthusiastically picked up by Mr. Peretz[229] [sic] of the International Committee. At this point I believe a word about Mr. Peretz and the International Committee is in order.

In February 1942 Capt. Inuzuka ordered the International Committee closed and after arresting Paul Komor, the director, and detaining him for a short time only, he ordered him not to return to the International Committee. Capt. Inuzuka, however, turned the funds of the International Committee over to a certain Mr. Peretz. This Mr. Peretz was a German refugee of very bad reputation, who back in 1937, 1938, and 1939 was mixed up with the Japanese in Hongkew in a "racket" to sell refugees permits for the immigration of their relatives to Shanghai. These permits were unnecessary documents, since immigration to Shanghai has always been wide open. The Japanese working closely with Mr. Peretz in this "racket" was a Mr. Katawa.[230] Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa had become members of Capt. Inuzuka's staff and at the latter's request were always invited to the meetings of the Committee for Assistance. Although we knew the reputation of both these men we were in no position to exclude them from our meetings and in no position to refuse to cooperate with them. Up to a certain date Mr. Peretz's efforts on behalf of the refugees were most constructive, |13| inasmuch as he was using International Committee funds for milk, supplementary relief, coal and to operate a nursery. Mr. Peretz was also extremely enthusiastic about the "Patenschaft" idea and

229 This was Robert Peritz.

230 As Margolis stated at the beginning of this report, it was written from memory. She therefore cannot be faulted for the two errors here. Permits were needed for Shanghai, as stated in previous documents, and the name of the Japanese official was not Katawa but Shibata Mitsugi.

began working on a campaign for canvassing the whole community to contribute money.

In June of 1942 the money situation again began to look very serious. We knew that the best and most efficient campaign for raising funds locally could never meet the budget of the Committee for Assistance. At best we could only stretch the funds raised on J.D.C. credit through the middle or end of September 1942. Our two hospitals, including a small maternity ward, were costing us $ 50,000 CRB monthly to operate. The medical staff, with few exceptions, was of an inferior quality. The equipment was poor and the physical conditions and sanitation deplorable. The doctors and nurses were a substantial part of a staff which we were trying to decrease. We therefore contacted the Shanghai General Hospital and made arrangements with Dr. Vio,[231] Italian superintendent of the hospital, to take our cases. We naturally encountered a lot of resistence [sic] on the part of our own doctors when we told them that the hospitals would have to be liquidated. All intake was stopped on June 15th and by the first of July all patients not released were transferred to the General Hospital and our two hospitals were closed. We were convinced then, as I am now, that these hospitals had always been an unnecessary and costly part of the Committee's activities. The Committee had never used the local resources to their fullest extent. Another example of this is that the Committee had been paying full rent and taxes for the camps, three of which were municipal property. They never made any attempt to get free rental, which we were able to get from the Municipal Council in view of their regulations that charitable institutions housed in municipal buildings do not have to pay rent. We merely paid taxes.

In June of 1942 we also sent cables to Sweden, Turkey, Portugal and Switzerland, asking for remittances from those countries. From these sources we received the following:

231 Eric (or Erich Giorgio) Vio (1910–1999), an Italian, had studied medicine in Rome and Japan. He worked at the Shanghai General Hospital from 1937 onward until he was interned in 1943. It was he who informed Margolis that she was listed for prisoners' exchange; cf. Kerssen, Life's Work, 77.

Date	Sources	Amount
Feb. 12, 1943	Arbeitsausschuss zur Hilfeleistung fuer Europaeische Juden in Stockholm[232]	$ 18,000 CRB
March 23, 1943	" "	23,088 "
June 21, 1943	Comite Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa	136,150 "[233]
August 19, 1943	" "	114,354 " (5000 Swiss frs.)
September 1943	" "	686,124 " (30,000 Swiss frs.)
	TOTAL	$ 977,716 CRB

We felt that the Ashkenazi community had no right to confine its efforts merely to helping the Polish refugees. In the spring of 1942, we therefore approached the Ashkenazi community with the suggestion that they participate in the "Patenschaft" plan for the support of the German refugees (up to this time the Ashkenazi community had only been supporting the Polish refugees). Mr. Topaz, who was chairman of the Ashkenazi community, absolutely refused to consider any plan for helping the German refugees. The issue became so vital within the ranks of the Ashkenazi community that it split the community in half and at one time became so violent that brothers were not talking to each other because of this issue. The group which differed with Mr. Topaz organized itself into a new committee, called the Central Jewcom and took on as its responsibility the raising of funds for the feeding of 500 German children. We felt that this had been a real victory because it was the first real expression on the part of the Russian Jewish community that they had some responsibility towards their German brothers. Naturally, there was constant |14| friction between the Central Jewcom and the East Jewcom because each group was drawing funds from the same community but for a different group of refugees.

At a meeting of the Committee for Assistance held the first week of July 1942, we resigned officially. By that time Mr. Wachsner, who had worked under our supervision for six months, was fully capable and willing to take over

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232 Support for Jewish refugees in Sweden was managed by the Swedish Jewish communities, mostly by the Jewish Community of Stockholm. The latter founded a help committee which was financed by member's taxes and funds from the AJJDC; cf. Pontus Rudberg, The Politics of Jewish Refugee Aid and Relief Work in Sweden, in: Mikael Byström/Pär Frohnert (eds.), Reaching a State of Hope. Refugees, Immigrants, and the Swedish Welfare State, 1930–2000, Lund 2013, 80–101, here 85 f..

233 After the United States entered the war, the Jewish Community of Lisbon, concerned that financial support from American organizations would cease, founded the COMASSIS, a committee to help Jewish refugees; see ch. 5, n. 81.

the administration of the Committee, and Mr. Glueckmann, who had served as my secretary since my arrival in Shanghai, was functioning as his assistant. We agreed to remain in the background and advise with Mr. Wachsner and Mr. Glueckmann daily and to continue in our efforts to help the local community raise money. We explained however, that in anticipation of either repatriation or internment by the fall of 1942, it was time for us to step out officially. There was also a noticeable anti-foreign feeling growing in Shanghai, with the new Gendarmerie officers coming from Japan daily to visit the office at Hongkew. Whereas in our dealings with the higher officials our being enemy nationals had not made much difference, it was obviously not a comfortable situation with the lesser officials. Although the administrative machine was by no means perfect, we felt that with men such Mr. Wachsner and Mr. Glueckmann in charge of the housing and feeding, Dr. Lang in charge of employment and vocational work, with Mr. Edel having set up a new financial and statistical system, this was the time for us to pull out. The Committee, of course, had to accept our plan and we gave our promise to help unofficially as long as we remained free in Shanghai.

Shortly after our resignation in July, Mr. Peretz called us to his office one day to tell us that the Japanese were planning a catastrophic thing for the refugees and he needed our help. According to Mr. Peretz, a plan was being evolved whereby the refugees would be loaded on ships, taken out to the ocean and drowned. He wanted us to enter into some plan with him immediately to save the situation. One suggestion he had was that we try to get a cable out to America for help in this matter. (This would have been impossible, even if we had wanted to.) Although we had heard from other reliable sources that something was brewing among the Japanese authorities with regard to "segregation" plans for the refugees, nevertheless, we did not trust Mr. Peretz nor his motive in giving us this information. We told him that as tragic as the situation might be, it was entirely out of our hands now since we were no longer actually and officially connected with the Committee.

I should mention here that Capt. Inuzuka had left Shanghai in June 1942 and Capt. Saneyoshi, who replaced him, was not as interested in the Jewish problem as Capt. Inuzuka had been.

We heard nothing more from Mr. Peretz until we were notified that Mr. Speelman, Mr. Hayim, Mr. Kaufman, Mr. Topaz, Mr. Bitker, Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa (Japanese) had all been arrested by the Gendarmerie and were in Bridge House (Bridge House is the Japanese jail, which is reputed to be something like the jails of the Spanish Inquisition). We were able to learn that Mr. Peretz and his Japanese friend, Mr. Katzwa [sic],[234] called a meet-

234 This was Shibata, not Katawa.

ing of the aforementioned men at Mr. Speelman's house in order to acquaint them with the plans the Japanese had for getting rid of the refugees.

To this day it is not quite clear to us or to anyone just what the motive of these two men was in passing on this information. As developments later proved, there had actually been a meeting of the Army, Navy and the Gendarmerie to discuss plans for doing something about the refugees. Knowing the records of both Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa, we all think that they had hoped to get these men present at Mr. Speelman's home to pay some money to try to stop this action and that in these negotiations they would make their percentage. The meeting however, took on a |15| different character from that which these men had planned. The decision made at the meeting was that Mr. Kaufman should contact Mr. Brahn, who had influence with the Gendarmerie, and ask Mr. Brahn to verify this story. Mr. Brahn went directly to the head of the Gendarmerie and not being a very tactful person, told the whole story giving away all the facts about the meeting, etc. The Gendarmerie chief became so furious that the plans which had still not crystalized [sic] were prematurely divulged, that he ordered the arrest of all the men present at the meeting, including Mr. Peretz and Mr. Katawa. All of these men were eventually released. Their arrest, however, precipitated the resignation of every member of the Committee for Assistance, this time including Mr. Speelman. Everyone was afraid at this point to be connected with the refugee problem.

It was during this period that we felt the need for organizing a local committee to handle any matters pertaining to J.D.C. In spite of his unpleasant experience, Mr. Bitker never refused to consult with us, although he refused to serve on any committee officially. At his time it was also not clear just what the attitude of the Japanese would be regarding the Polish nationals and so we were not certain as to whether Mr. Bitker was or was not an enemy national. In discussing the appointment of a J.D.C. committee with Mr. Bitker, it was agreed that Mr. Brahn, although undesirable as far as a person and a leader is concerned, had such close contact with the Gendarmerie and to date had shown considerable influence so that he would be a desirable chairman. I should like to say here that Mr. Brahn was appointed chairman of the J.D.C. committee simply because of his influential contact with the Japanese. He is a very unreliable, frustrated, sadistic person with a strong desire to dominate and show his power over those dependent on him. Here again I must say that we had no choice. In addition to Mr. Brahn, we appointed Mr. Wachsner, Mr. Glueckmann and Dr. Lang, three men in whom we had faith and confidence, men who were honest, dependable and reliable and who we knew would serve the J.D.C. loyally but who had neither contacts nor influence.

While Mr. Peretz was in prison, Mr. Pulvermacher and Dr. Silberstein, men who had been members of the Committee for Assistance, agreed to take

over local fund-raising. Although there was no longer a Committee for Assistance after July, they organized a very large and active body of the wealthier refugees into a committee called the "Kitchen Fund" and incorporated the "Patenschaft" idea which had been started by Mr. Peretz of the International Committee. They appointed as their chairman a Dr. Berglass [sic], a Polish national and a refugee.

A word about the personalities of the Kitchen Fund leaders is important at this point. Dr. Berglass is a Polish national who came to Shanghai as a refugee from Vienna. He is a mild, intelligent person in very comfortable financial circumstances. He is weak and is being used by the more dominant members of the group simply as a figurehead. He never makes an independent decision. Dr. Silberstein or Mr. Pulvermacher are extremely keen and capable business men. They came to Shanghai as refugees with some means and have in the meantime established good businesses. Their whole approach to any problem is the "Prussian" way. They were the men who in January of 1942, when we were operating from day to day, within one week gathered enough forces to raise $ 30 000. They are men who have tremendous drive and who once they get power do not delegate responsibility or privileges to anyone outside their own small intimate group of friends. They are the power behind Dr. Berglass.

|16| The circumstances which brought this group into power have already been described. We were in no position in the summer of 1942 to interfere with any group which wanted to take on responsibility. There were too few groups ready to do so.

In August 1942, while the Kitchen Fund was planning a "Patenschaft" campaign for raising money locally and while the Central Jewcom was organizing to take over the feeding of 500 German Jewish children, the realities became even more clear-cut than ever. We had definitely aroused all of the people and were tapping all of the potential resources, but the moneys raised this way could never carry the relief program. Mr. Topaz, the chairman of the Ashkenazi community, called us to a private meeting with a few people and asked us if we would issue another loan in the name of the J.D.C. without telling the community that we did not have right to do so. This we refused to do. We explained that J.D.C. representatives had never misrepresented the situation and that we personally could not be responsible for taking money from people which J.D.C. might not repay. We suggested the alternative of drawing up a contract in which we clearly explained our position, namely, that we firmly believe that J.D.C. has the money to help and wants to help but that due to war-time regulations is unable to contact us. Since we firmly believed this we hoped that the Ashkenazi Community would put every effort forth into selling this contract. Such a contract was drawn up by Mr. Cornell

Franklin,[235] an American lawyer in Shanghai, and on the basis of this conditional contract we began negotiations with Mr. Shriro for additional money (details of financial transactions to be given later).

On September 1st we were notified that on September 6th we would be sailing from Shanghai to be repatriated. The situation then was that there was still no committee in charge, and no centralized responsibility. The office was being run by Mr. Wachsner, Mr. Glueckmann and Dr. Lang; but they were not a committee. The J.D.C. committee was organized for fund-raising purposes only. So, on September 4th, two days before we were supposed to sail, we called a meeting of the Kitchen Fund, which was working assiduously to raise money for feeding, and with the Juedische Gemeinde and made the following proposition to them. It was our suggestion that the Kitchen Fund take over all responsibility for feeding and the Juedische Gemeinde take over the responsibility for housing. In the meantime, a J.D.C. committee would be operating to raise money on J.D.C. conditional contract and would disburse funds as raised to the two groups, in accordance with the need. This meeting lasted four hours. The Juedische Gemeinde refused to take over any responsibility. The leadership of the Juedische Gemeinde has always been weak and although it was the only organization which officially represented the refugee body, it has never really played a major role in the life of the refugees. Dr. Kardegg, the president, is a rather weak and vacillating person, a man who is afraid of everybody.

The members of the Kitchen Fund asked to be excused for a recess and when they returned to the room announced that they were ready to take over responsibility for the whole problem, including feeding and housing, if we would promise that all moneys raised through J.D.C. would be given to them. From the very beginning we had been fearful of the type of leadership personified in Dr. Berglass, Mr. Pulvermacher and Dr. Silberstein, but there was no choice. Everyone had been given an opportunity and these were the only people who agreed to take any responsibility. Te [sic] of course agreed that the J.D.C. funds would always go to any committee which was doing the relief and rehabilitation work in the community provided that the standard of work carried out by that committee would meet with the approval of the J.D.C. committee. These men were of course certain that they would meet with the approval of the J.D.C. committee and at the close of the meeting the Kitchen Fund became the committee to take over responsibility for the refugee program in Shanghai. It was agreed at that time that Mr. Wachsner, Mr. Glueckmann and Dr. Lang would continue in the Administration Office

235 Franklin (1892–1959) arrived in Shanghai at the end of 1921. From 1933 on he was a member of the SMC, serving from 1937 to 1940 as its chairman.

as previously. On September 6th, the day we were sup- |17| posed to sail, our repatriation as cancelled.

Our trouble with the Kitchen Fund began within a week from the time they took office. Immediately upon the transfer of all bank accounts to them they told us that they no longer wanted Mr. Wachsner as their executive. They had decided that most of the personnel of the Committee which by that time had been reduced from 500 to 100, were dishonest. They were, furthermore, convinced that they themselves could run the office more efficiently and were willing to devote all their time to doing so. Although at the beginning we spent considerable time discussing with these men the advisability of a separate governing board and a separate executive staff, going into the reasons why all this was more advisable, we soon realized that all efforts to convince these men of what a good administrative apparatus is like were futile. When we tried to show them how the J.D.C.'s monthly statistical reports should be made out, their answer was that there was no need for all this detail and that they were going to set up their own system of bookkeeping. Mr. Wachsner and Mr. Glueckmann finally resigned after realizing that they were not wanted by the Kitchen Fund, and the latter asked Dr. Lang to become their executive. After consulting with us he agreed to accept the position as an experiment, but after a few weeks he resigned because he felt he was working with a dictatorial and fundamentally dishonest group of men. The situation was very tragic but we had no alternative, since no one was ready to step in and take over. We begged the Ashkenazi community to take the problem over but they flatly refused. We had to reconcile ourselves to leaving the Kitchen Fund in charge. It must be admitted that they worked very hard; they did go out and raise more money than had ever been raised locally before and they were vitally interested. Their attitude toward the refugees, however, was the same hard and dictatorial one which the old Committee for Assistance had shown. Good or bad, however, they were carrying on and the J.D.C. committee was putting forth every possible effort to raise money on the conditional contract.

In the fall of 1942 Mr. J. Shriro approached us about lending us money on the conditional contract. He seemed extremely reluctant to do so inasmuch as legally J.D.C. would not be responsible for our commitment. We had to admit that this was true, namely, that if J.D.C. did not want to meet this obligation it did not have to. Nevertheless, we spent considerable time and effort to try to convince him that to the best of our knowledge and belief J.D.C. would repay commitments made by us in view of the unusual situation in which we all found ourselves.

On September of 1942 we succeeded in getting from Mr. Shriro the sum of 100,000 Swiss francs, but at an extremely low rate of $ 3 CRB to one Swiss

franc. At that time, as far as I can recall, the official rate of the CRB dollar to the Swiss franc was 10 ½ or 12 to one. As reluctant as we were to accept this rate, we were again placed in the position where we could find no other person who had as much free cash to give at one time as Mr. Shriro, and by September 1942 funds were very low.

On November 5th the American and British communities were surprised to wake up and find that enemy nationals were being picked up for internment. The arrests had started very early in the morning and we were called to Mr. Bitker's office to consult with him before being picked up ourselves. Mr. Shriro, who also knew of the arrest, came to Mr. Bitker's office. Because we expected to be picked up that day or the next, we agreed to allow Mr. Bitker to negotiate with Mr. Shriro for an additional sum of 405,000 Swiss francs which he agreed to give us. That day, while waiting to be picked up, we signed all the necessary documents and papers with regard to any loans which might be contracted by Mr. Bitker in our name. We limited the amount which the Shanghai J.D.C. could borrow to $ 210,000 (U.S.). Much to our |18| surprise, however, we learned late in the afternoon of that same day that Mr. Shriro had been picked up and that only a selected number of enemy nationals had been arrested by the Gendarmerie for reasons unknown. This group of several hundred persons were later classified as plitical [sic] prisoners and have been kept in internment. The arrest of Mr. Shriro meant that he had been classified by the Japanese for the first time as an enemy national and in accordance with our agreement with the Japanese, we were not permitted to take money from enemy nationals. We dropped the matter temporarily and gave up hope of ever getting more money from this source.

In December of 1942 the new kitchen erected with J.D.C. money was dedicated and officially opened at a ceremony in which many Japanese officials were present. The Kitchen Fund acted as the official committee and we were advised not to be present because by that time all enemy nationals were wearing red arm bands and anti-American and anti-British feeling was rising.

The first week of January 1943 we were called to meet with Mr. J. Shriro's brother who told us that he had had word from J. Shriro via the underground that he would still like to give the J.D.C. some money. In view of Mr. J. Shriro's arrest, however, we refused to take money directly from him because we felt that no amount of money was worth risking the displeasure of the Japanese after we had given our word that we would only negotiate with neutrals. The sum of 405,000 Swiss francs, however, which was involved was sufficiently large, so that we could not just refuse to participate in any other plan which might make it possible for us to get hold of this money. It was understood and agreed by all those present – Mr. Bitker, Mr. Shriro (J. Shriro's brother), Mr. Siegel and myself – that this money would be transferred to Mr. J. Shifrin,

who was a Russian immigrant and that we would negotiate this loan with Mr. J. Shifrin.

On January 31, 1943, Mr. Siegel was interned and it was not until after his internment that the 405,000 Swiss francs had been transferred to J. Shifrin and we were able to discuss rate. The official rate of the Swiss franc was then 10 1/5 CRB to one Swiss franc. Mr. Shriro wanted to give us the same rate on the 405,000 Swiss francs as on the first 100,000 Swiss francs, that is $ 3 CRB to one Swiss franc. Although I negotiated this deal just two days before I was interned I refused to accept this rate. At a meeting at which Mr. Shifrin, Mr. Bitker, Mr. Shriro and myself were present, it was agreed that we leave the rate open but that I would do my best to try to convince J.D.C. not to ask for any more than a maximum of $ 6 CRB to the Swiss franc. On this basis we received an additional 405,000 Swiss francs in the name of J. Shifrin, although Mr. J. Shriro as the real owner. It was also agreed by Mr. Shifrin, Mr. Bitker and myself, with the knowledge of Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann, members of the J.D.C. committee, that the sum of 505,000 Swiss francs (or just 405,000 Swiss francs, I cannot remember exactly.) which we had borrowed from J. Shriro would not be made known to the J.D.C. committee officially nor to the community. I agreed that Mr. Bitker and Mr. Shifrin should invest this money and that from time to time the income from the investment would be used as anonymous contributions to the Shanghai J.D.C. We all felt that the local community had by this time been stimulated to raising money locally and we did not want them to revert to their former habit of "Let the J.D.C. do it." We felt it was much better psychologically for them not to know that we had obtained this loan. We did not even feel that we could share this information with Mr. Brahn, Chairman of the Committee, or Mr. Wachsner, the other member of the Shanghai J.D.C., because they were not people who could be trusted to keep a confidence. I personally have full confidence in both Mr. Bitker and Mr. Shifrin and know that this money will be invested wisely and that the refugees will eventually get the full benefit of every cent |19| Early in 1943 we knew through confidential sources that plans were in the making for the segregation of the refugees. Actually this was the culmination of the discussions which had started back in July 1942 and because of the arrests, had been delayed six months. On February 6th a very nasty and typically anti-Semitic article appeared in the Shanghai Times, ostensibly written by a Nanking Chinese official.[236] This article mentioned the names of the Abrahams, the Hayims, Sir Victor Sassoon and many of the wealthy and prominent Shanghai Jews. It spoke of how they had made their money through opium and other disreputable means. It mentioned these people as

236 This is the article by Tang Leang-li, see Document 93.

an example of international Jewry. We know then that it was only a matter of days until a segregation plan would be announced. On February 8th [sic] the newspapers and the radio announced that a proclamation had been issued by the Japanese Navy, Army and Gendarmerie which stated that all stateless persons having come to Shanghai since 1937 would have to move into a designated area by May 8th of 1943. This proclamation came as a bombshell to Shanghai Jews, who were taken by complete surprise. There were not more than three or four of us who knew this was in the air. To the refugees this seemed like almost the last thing that could ever happen to them after what they had previously been through. It is interesting that the refugee group itself took this proclamation with considerably more calm than the local Russian Jews and the old resident German Jews, who, although the proclamation said "stateless," realized that this was the first threat to themselves, even though they are not at that moment directly affected by it. Some of the refugees were quite hysterical about it. The majority who had taken one blow after another, took this as just another blow and their whole attitude toward the situation was that the United Nations were close to winning the war and that they simply had to tighten their belts and see this thing through until the day of victory. I must express my admiration for the way in which the majority of these people took a proclamation which really meant the end of their livelihood. It meant that those refugees – and there were thousands – who had established good and comfortable businesses in the French Concession and in the International Settlement would have to liquidate these businesses and move into the segregated area. Our refugee camps and kitchen are in the heart of this area, which is not more than one-half to three-quarters of a square mile.

Nothing happened from February 8th when the proclamation was first made public until February 23rd, two days before I was interned. On the night of February 23rd, Mr. Kubota,[237] a Japanese official who had been put in charge of the organization of this removal, called a meeting of the Ashkenazi community in the Jewish club. That night he told several hundreds men present that this proclamation had been issued not because of any anti-Semitic feelings on the part of the Japanese people, but that the housing and feeding problem in Shanghai had become so acute that some plan had to be evolved whereby thousands of stateless persons would be put under some form of control. He appealed to the Russian Jews to cooperate with him in making this area a place where people could live. It meant that additional

237 In spring 1943, Navy captain Kubota Tsutomu followed Saneyoshi as Chief Director of the Shanghai Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs. He became honorary chairman of SACRA and as a result presided over SACRA's new committees.

houses or barracks would have to be built. While on the one hand he asked for the cooperation of the Russian Jews, his appeal was virtually an ultimatum in that he gave this group the choice of either cooperating with him and helping him to segregate the stateless people or the Japanese would have to take matters into their own hands and do it their own way. The reports which I received from this meeting were that the Japanese were going to see this plan through and that it was best for the Russian Jews to help.

It is interesting at this point to compare this technique with the way in which the Japanese interned us. All the work relative to interning enemy nationals was done by our own American Association.[238] The Japanese used very little of their own manpower.

|20| Mr. Kubota agreed that for the present the Kitchen Fund should continue its work of feeding and housing and raising funds locally and that the Shanghai J.D.C. should continue its operation of raising money on J.D.C. credit as formerly. The Japanese, however, did not want to work with any other committee except a committee of the Russian Jewish community. It was for this reason that SACRA, which stands for "Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Relief Association," was organized. The Japanese deal only with SACRA and SACRA men in turn deal with the Kitchen Fund and the Shanghai J.D.C.

Before I was interned I also asked Mr. Bitker to add to the Shanghai J.D.C. two members of the Ashkenazi community, which I later learned he did. I was completely cut off from all news of what was happening in Shanghai from February 25, 1943, when I was interned, until the end of July 1943, when I was removed to the Shanghai General Hospital because of illness. Although the hospital was under Japanese supervision, it was possible for me to see Mr. Glueckmann and Mr. Bitker often enough during the two months that I was in the hospital so that I can bring the situation in Shanghai up to date.

What I learned in August and September of 1943 was not very encouraging. The very thing which had made our own work difficult and frustrating was the very thing which was complicating matters in the midst of the most serious crisis which the Shanghai Jews had ever faced. The politics, personalities and power drives on the part of the leaders of the committees functioning in the refugee work caused so much conflict within our own ranks that the Japanese, who were aware of these conflicts, took advantage. For example, the Kitchen Fund group refused to take any suggestions from the Shanghai J.D.C. even though they were receiving money from them. Mr. Brahn, the Chairman of the Shanghai J.D.C., who also is a difficult personality, was reporting the

238 In the 1930s Americans living in Shanghai founded the American Association to deal with all kinds of civil and cultural issues.

misdemeanors [sic] of the Kitchen Fund to the Japanese. Dr. Kohn,[239] Chairman of SACRA, was very pro-Japanese and a close friend of Mr. Kubota, chief of the Office for Stateless.[240] Politics had gone so far that there was a definite split between SACRA and the Office for Stateless on one side and the Shanghai J.D.C. backed by the Gendarmerie on the other side. Actually the fight was the old traditional one between the Japanese Gendarmerie and the Office for Stateless which was under the Japanese Consulate; but this time our own Jewish group were being used in this deep-seated political quarrel between two factions of the Japanese government.

SACRA had found it necessary to raise funds separately from the Ashkenazi community in order to build barracks and repair houses for additional housing facilities for those persons moving into the segregated area. For this purpose SACRA had raised, by August of 1943, the sum of $ 1,500,000 CRB. The houses and barracks put up by SACRA are netting at the moment a substantial income, since at least 90 % of those persons who moved into the segregated area[241] could pay rent. Housing facilities per se were the problem. As time goes on, however, the income on these properties will decrease due to the gradual impoverishment of the refugees living in that area.

In September 1943 Mr. Kubota ordered that all moneys being expended for the refugees should go through SACRA's Relief Department, which meant that all moneys raised by the Kitchen Fund locally would have to be turned in to SACRA and that all moneys raised by the Shanghai J.D.C. would have to go to SACRA. In addition, the Ashkenazi community had imposed upon its members a tax system whereby every person had to contribute to SACRA for the maintenance of the refugees.

By August of 1943 the Kitchen Fund had succeeded in securing 900 "Patenschaften," each "Patenschaft" having been increased from $ 50 to $ 100 per month. This was really good work and showed more local effort than had ever been known before. |21| On August 1st, 16,000 people were living in the segregated area. Of this number it was estimated that at least 10,000 were in

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239 (Jan) Abraham Jacob Cohn (c. 1908–1972) was born Jan Weinberg. His parents were from Romania; when they died, he was adopted by a German physician named Cohn. He moved to Nagasaki in 1914, going to school there and earning a medical degree. Fluent in Japanese and familiar with Japanese culture, he became an important member of the Jewish community in Shanghai. After the war he remained in the city and owned a pharmaceutical enterprise. From 1957 on he lived in Hong Kong; cf. Ristaino, Port, 198, 321, n. 49; Tokayer/Swartz, The Fugu Plan, 227, 272.

240 This is the Japanese Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

241 Designated Area.

need of full or supplementary relief. But the funds available at that time were only enough to give one meal a day to 3600 people. It was the plan of SACRA to bring this number up to 5000 within a very short time or as soon as their own Relief Department could get started and take over full responsibility. In addition to the one meal a day, 2870 people were living in our five camps and 4669 were receiving six ounces of bread daily. (The number receiving bread includes the 3600 who were also receiving one meal a day and the 2870 living in our camps.)

In September 1943, just before I was repatriated, SACRA estimated that just to maintain the status quo, that is to continue supporting those people included in the figures above, would require a budget of $ 1,000,000 CRB a month. SACRA planned to be able to raise a total of $ 400,000 CRB a month and expected that the rest of the budget would come from Shanghai J.D.C.

An analysis of the income of the Kitchen Fund from August 7, 1942, when they began functioning, to June 30, 1943, shows the following:

Kitchen Fund (Patenschaften and one-time contributions 17 %

Income from refugees (some refugees pay a minimum amount for bread and food tickets) . . . . . 14 ¾ %

Shanghai J.D.C. . . . . 59 ½ %

Central Jewcom . . . . . 8 ¾ %

It was not possible for all of the stateless to get moved into the area by May 8th and the Japanese extended the time to August 8, 1943. On that day everyone had to be moved into the area, although exemptions were made. These exemptions were considered on an individual basis by the Office for Stateless and extensions were given which were only valid for three months. In August of 1943 only 170 families, 60 doctors, 30 sick and aged and 80 miscellaneous were exempted (that is, were temporarily living outside the segregated area). It is possible to procure a pass to leave the area for the day for business reasons if one can prove to the Office for Stateless that it is essential to the welfare of East Asia. In August, 7000 had applied for passes to leave the area on business and only 3000 passes were issued for three months and 700 passes for three weeks. These passes designate specifically where the stateless person may go and the time when he must be back in the area. He does not need to be back at night but if his pass is only good until 6 P.M. he cannot get back home after this hour. It is the feeling of those few people with whom I spoke before I left that eventually no one will be allowed to leave the area for any reason whatsoever. Even now the granting of passes has become a "racket" whereby passes may be obtained at a price. It is inevitable that this practice will eventually lead to the denial of all passes.

At the barriers surrounding the segregated area there are signs reading: "Stateless refugees are prohibited to pass here without permission." The barriers are policed by the refugees themselves, who are responsible to the Japanese police in the district.

Just before I left Shanghai Mr. Bitker finally agreed to become officially a member of the Shanghai J.D.C. inasmuch as Mr. Brahn, the Chairman, was getting completely out of hand and Mr. Bitker is about the only person who is not afraid to contradict him. Most people are afraid of Mr. Brahn because of his close connection with the Gendarmerie. In addition, Mr. Shifrin is also serving as a member of the Shanghai J.D.C., so that we have at the present time a total of six people: Mr.|22| Brahn, Chairman; Mr. Glueckmann, Secretary; Mr. Bitker, Treasurer; Dr. Lang, Mr. Shifrin and Mr. Wachsner. For obvious reasons Mr. Brahn cannot be removed as Chairman, but the real work is being done by Mr. Bitker, Mr. Glueckmann, and Dr. Lang. The latter two have just moved into Mr. Bitker's office.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

A total of $ 180,000 (U.S.) was raised by the spring of 1942 and each person was given a regular loan contract issued in U.S. dollars. Due to Japanese restrictions, it was not possible to bring back the names of any of the people who loaned us money, but the Shanghai J.D.C. is keeping a very full record of the persons and amounts owed. These contracts can only be validated upon presentation in the United States. The rate of exchange on each contract varies, depending upon the urgency of our need for money plus the official and black market rates. It is my belief that on our first contract we received fair rates, since we did have definite authorization from New York. It will be possible, however, to compare the rate of each transaction with the official rate after the war, when communications open again and records will be available.

The problem with regard to the "conditional" loan contract was quite different. Although we were sure the J.D.C. really wanted to help in Shanghai, we could not always be 100 % convincing, because we did not know what the situation really was in the United States after we were completely cut off in May 1942. One gets quite a distorted picture of what might have happened here and there were times when we even questioned whether the J.D.C. was functioning at all. The questions regarding the repayment of the moneys under this second loan and our great need for funds made it very necessary for us in the beginning to compromise on unreasonably low rates, as for example, the first 100,000 Swiss francs at a rate of three when the minimum was about 10½ or 12. I would recommend that before any notes issued under the second contract are repaid, the records of the Shanghai J.D.C. be consulted with regard to the rate received as against the official rate of the Swiss franc

at that time, and that the J.D.C. try to make an adjustment accordingly with each individual who loaned us money.

The CRB dollar, which is Nanking money, is rapidly devaluating. Inflation is riding sky high and no one in Shanghai wants to keep money. It is for this reason that I feel that those persons who loaned their money to the J.D.C. found the best and most effective means of safeguarding their funds.

Just before Mr. Siegel was interned we limited the amount which the Shanghai J.D.C. could borrow on our credit to a total of US$ 210,000, or the equivalent of 900,000 Swiss francs. (By the time we began negotiating our second loan the Japanese had decreed that dealing in American dollars was a criminal offense. Therefore we used the Swiss franc for our transactions.) When I was in the hospital Mr. Bitker asked me for authorization to exclude the 505,000 Swiss francs borrowed from Mr. Shriro from the total of 900,000 Swiss francs. I granted this permission, so that the total obligation of the J.D.C. on the "conditional" loan contract is 1,405,000 Swiss francs. Of this total, 805,000 Swiss francs had been raised up to August 5, 1943 (including Mr. Shriro's 505,000). At that time the Shanghai J.D.C. was getting as high as 15½ CRB dollars to the Swiss franc when the official rate was 22. Mr. Bitker had stopped selling at that time because there was enough money to carry on the work for a few months and he felt he could get a better rate later on. There is no doubt that as soon as the Shanghai J.D.C. learns that we acknowledge the obligation contracted on the second loan that the rates will increase.

|23| RECOMMENDATIONS

It is dangerous to make too many recommendations now because many things might change the picture in Shanghai with regard to the refugees before the J.D.C. can again become directly active. There are, however, a few facts which no development can change, namely those concerning the persons who at this time are in positions of responsibility and leadership.

Mr. C. Brahn, Chairman of the Shanghai J.D.C. Committee, must be relieved of his duties as soon as it is possible, if he is not already relieved by developments in Shanghai.

The leaders of the Kitchen Fund – Dr. Berglass, Mr. Pulvermacher and Dr. Silberstein – must not be given any responsible work in the reconstruction period.

Dr. Kohn, Chairman of SACRA, must not be trusted because he is definitely pro-Japanese and is justly suspected of making money out of the situation which has developed in Shanghai with the segregation of refugees.

Mrs. Nogami, Mr. Brahn's friend, may still be in Shanghai after the war, and, I should venture to guess, will ask for certain recognition because she

has been so helpful to the refugees. She is known to be a spy and should she ever enter into the picture in the future, she must be given no consideration.

Mr. Bitker, Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann can be used freely and with full confidence in the postwar work, and should be given every recognition for their loyalty and untiring labor, often at great danger to their own persons.

The J.D.C. should make every effort to keep in touch with the Shanghai J.D.C. through the International Red Cross in order to authorize borrowing for the duration. The International Red Cross in Shanghai is willing and ready to supervise SACRA in the distribution of all funds, so that we need have no fear that money raised by J.D.C. will be used by the enemy.

CONCLUSION

I hope that the facts recorded in this report will shed some light on a very complicated and distressing situation. I sincerely feel that everything which could possibly have been done was done in order to save as many of the refugee population as possible. The handicaps were numerous and least of all these handicaps were the Japanese themselves. We have in Shanghai, and have always had, a group of Jews who have no social consciousness and no feeling of responsibility towards the community. Shanghai itself is not a community. Added to this, we have a group of refugees who are underfed and undernourished and terribly discouraged. I doubt that fifty percent of the group will be material for rehabilitation if this war lasts another two years. And one can never know what the attitude of the Japanese will be towards this defenseless element of the Shanghai population once they start losing the war. Knowing the Japanese, I would venture to say that "anything might happen at any time." The only hope for these people, as for all peoples, lies in the victory of the United Nations.

Laura L. Margolis

Chapter 5
Shanghai Anti-Semitism and the Designated Area, 1943–1945

Introduction

Even if anti-Semitism was not a dominant phenomenon in Shanghai life, it was, nonetheless, not absent from the Shanghai scene. Articles translated from the Japanese press appeared occasionally in Chinese language newspapers like *Xin Shenbao* (New Shenbao; Document 90) and even Chinese writers, whether due to conviction or coercion, wrote anti-Semitic articles at times in the Japanese-controlled press.[1] Nor were local Nazis idle. In addition, anti-Semitic articles, often extremely pejorative, appeared in Shanghai's White Russian papers.[2] The British had noted the appearance of anti-Semitic materials in Shanghai as early as December 1938, which they regarded with considerable apprehension.[3] None of this, however, led to expressions of anti-Semitism among the Chinese population, which in any event did not distinguish between one foreigner and another.

The ambivalent attitude generally on anti-Semitism among Shanghai's Japanese authorities was noted with misgivings by the Germans.[4] And they no doubt disapproved highly of Inuzuka's friendly attitude toward the refugees and the Russian Jewish community. Meanwhile the war in Europe was far away, and Russian Jewish leaders spared no effort to remain on good terms with the Japanese authorities after the outbreak of the Pacific War.

Although the February 1943 Proclamation ordering all stateless persons who arrived in Shanghai after 1937 into a Designated Area of Hongkou hit the Central European refugees like a thunderbolt, it could not be interpreted as an anti-Semitic act. This was emphasized by Kubota Tsutomu in an interview reported in the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* (Document 102). The

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1 Another example is the anti-Semitic newspaper article by Chen Qian, Shijie dongluan yu Youtai zhi guoji yinmou [World Turmoil and the Jewish International Conspiracy], in: Zhongguo Gonglun [Chinese Public Opinion], 2 (February 1940), 13–24.

2 The Shanghai Municipal Report of September 15, 1939 summarizes one such article forwarded by A. Prokoviev, SMP, reel 42, D8149.F51.

3 Shanghai Political Report for the quarter ending 31st December, 1938, 16, PRO, FO 371/23509 (27388).

4 Krebs characterizes this as "conflicted Japanese attitudes about the Jews;" cf. his excellent article, The "Jewish Problem," 107.

word Jew was nowhere mentioned in the Proclamation,[5] and the order did not include the Russian Jewish community. The Proclamation, it should be noted, coincided as well with the beginning of internment of so-called enemy nationals, that is, Americans and British, regardless of their being Jewish or non-Jewish.

Whether the establishment of a ghetto, as it came to be called, was decided on due to German pressure cannot be answered conclusively.[6] It would seem that the plan to concentrate the Jews in a specific area in Shanghai had been considered for some time by the Japanese authorities.[7] Although they claimed that the purpose was military necessity, having Jews reside in a specific location was, in fact, a means of controlling them. Moreover, as Fischer's cable (Document 98) indicates, the Germans were taken by surprise by the Proclamation.

The machinery for controlling the Jews was quickly established. An umbrella organization of eighteen men was created at the beginning of 1943 after the Proclamation appeared. This was the Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association (SACRA), headed by Dr. Jan Abraham Jacob Cohn. Most of SACRA's members were drawn from the Russian Jewish community. SACRA carried out the important reorganization of the Jüdische Gemeinde (established in 1939 for the Central European Jews), and the new organization was now headed by a Russian Jew, L. M. Rogovin. SACRA, furthermore, was in charge of relocating the stateless Jews in Hongkou, and it was also in charge of two powerful committees established earlier, the Kitchen Fund and the Shanghai JDC. But SACRA was by no means independent. It was controlled by the Japanese Shanghai Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs, which in turn was subordinate to the Ministry for Greater East Asia and was headed by Kubota Tsutomu, who was also Honorary Chairman of SACRA.

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5 Y. Kahan, Etlekhe bamerkungn tsu der forgeshikhte fun shankhaier geto [Some Remarks on the Prior History of the Shanghai Ghetto], in: Unzer Vort. Zamlheft, 1 (1945), 34–38. Kahan remarks that the Russian Jews already knew about the forthcoming proclamation in December 1942. It was they who prevailed on the Japanese to change the wording from "Jews" to "stateless."

6 Fritz Wiedemann (1891–1970), at the time German Consul in Tianjin (so presumably January 22, 1951) declared, "The internment of Central European emigrants […] had taken place upon the instigation of the German government […];" cf. Herman Dicker, Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East. A Century of Jewish Life in China and Japan, New York 1962, 115. Unfortunately, Dicker does not provide a reference.

7 Krebs, The "Jewish Problem," 121, similarly notes that concentrating the Jews in a specific area was under consideration since 1939.

At the beginning of 1943, therefore, together with the Proclamation, a patron-client relationship came into being between the Japanese authorities and the Russian Jewish leadership. SACRA, despite its title, did not have a collaborationist (in the pejorative sense in which we generally use the term) relationship to the Japanese authorities. It was subordinate, a puppet, carrying out the orders of the Japanese authorities who in this way were able to avoid direct contact with the refugees in day to day affairs. A hierarchical chain of command was thus established, not unlike that of other Chinese puppet governments in areas under Japanese conquest. That SACRA was firmly under Japanese control can be clearly seen in Document 23 where the reorganization of SACRA in spring 1944 is explained.

To be sure, it has not yet been clarified what kind of pressure the Japanese authorities had brought to bear on the leaders of the Russian community in order to obtain their compliant cooperation. The fact is that the animosities between the leaders of the several communities, so well described in Laura Margolis's long report (Document 89), were exacerbated during the remaining war years.

The move into the vastly overcrowded area of the ghetto created great hardships for the refugee population. Most severely affected were those who had managed to establish businesses of one sort or another in what had been the International Settlement or the French Concession. Although some applied for and managed to obtain a postponement, this was but a small minority. Those who had succeeded in finding jobs or had businesses outside the Designated Area, or who just wanted to leave the crowded ghetto, had to apply for passes. The office for passes was under the control of the much hated Ghoya Kanoh,[8] and the not much better liked Okura. Kubota's attempt to placate the Jews by stating that the purpose of the passes was to aid in the development of the Designated Area was a lame excuse for what was generally perceived as one more punishment.

To what extent were the refugees aware of the catastrophe that had befallen their families in Europe? Or even of the progress of war in Europe and Asia? Not much can be gained from later interviews, because post-war information intrudes on earlier memories. There were, of course, Soviet broadcasts, but it is impossible to know how many Russian speakers actually

8 From August 1943 on, Japanese officer Ghoya was responsible for issuing passes to leave Hongkou, becoming the personal representative of all the evils of Japanese occupation. After the end of the war Herbert Zernik wrote a satiric poem (*Ein Affe wurde Mensch*) about the sadistic man. I am grateful to Dr. Ruth Kollani for making the original poem available to me. An English translation is included in my Voices from Shanghai. Jewish Exiles in Wartime China, Chicago Ill./London 2008, 104–106.

listened to Soviet broadcasts,[9] and such important turning points in the European war as Stalingrad in February 1943 and Guadalcanal also in February 1943 coincided with the disaster of the Hongkou segregation,[10] which seemingly occupied the refugees' attention to the exclusion of all else.

No doubt unknown to the refugees, their plight was noted in Switzerland, as conveyed by members of the International Red Cross. Not that its Relief Division did anything to alleviate the refugees' dire situation. It was through the good offices of Saly Mayer of the JDC in Switzerland that some funds could be channeled to Shanghai (Documents 111 and 116). However, the refugees were well aware that they were living under the tight control of the police. Residency law was strictly enforced, and permission for public events had to be obtained from the Japanese authorities.

Clearly, however, the scarcity of documents for the sixteen months of the ghetto period is obvious. Little or no mail reached Shanghai during this time. Newspapers were barely available for the refugee community, even if there still were the highly censored weeklies *Nasha zhizn*, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, and *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*. Japanese documentation for this period has disappeared, and it is not known where the Russian documents might be. Even the Shanghai Municipal Police Files for this period do not yield significant documentation on Jewish affairs. To reconstruct this period of time, one must rely on the very few available diaries and later memoirs. Valuable and indispensable as they are, each of these materials cannot be corroborated by other records.[11]

The end of war came late to Shanghai in August 1945. It was preceded by a final catastrophe that occurred only one month before when on July 17, 1945, American planes bombarded Hongkou. This and the question whether to remain in Shanghai or leave, and where to if the latter, will be taken up in chapter eight.

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9 R. Shoshana Kahan, In fayer un flamen. Togbukh fun a yidisher shoyshpilern [In Fire and Flames. Diary of a Jewish Actress], Buenos Aires 1949, 138, mentions (entry July 25, 1944) that according to Soviet radio the Soviet army had entered Lublin.

10 The battle for Stalingrad took place between July 1942 and February 1943, and is generally considered the turning point in Germany's war against the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that much of Southeast Asia had come under Japanese control by the first half of 1942, the battle of Midway in June 1942 is often seen as the turning point in the Pacific, leading to the battle of Guadalcanal in February 1943 and the beginning of the end of Japanese supremacy.

11 A collection of more than 20 memoirs and autobiographies by Shanghai refugees can be accessed online at the website of the LBI Digital Memoir Collection, cf. <https://www.lbi.org/collections/archives/memoir-collection/> (September 13, 2016).

Document 90

Gao Qing[12]
September 29, 1939
Newspaper article, in: Xin Shenbao[13] *[New Shenbao], 1.*
Chinese; translation by Shirley Burdick and Madlen Mählis
Harvard-Yenching Library, Newspaper Collection, FC–N274

時論
中國和猶太人問題
高情

王龍先生曾經討論德意兩國的排斥猶太人問題和猶太人在東亞的問題，藉以喚起中國人對於猶太人活動的注意，但是，我想更進一步,指摘猶太人在中國的活動狀況，以供一般中國人參考。研究世界猶太人問題的某學者批評這次的日華戰爭，並不是日本民族和漢民族的鬥爭，祇是日本民族和英國系猶太財閥的鬥爭。何以呢？他說：

猶太財閥用他們過剩的財富樹立五十年計劃，投資到利益最多的國家。他們一八七〇年投資於阿富茄尼斯坦，印度，緬甸的五十年計劃的開發殖民事業，到一九〇〇年在華資金的收回,一九三〇年他們爲了開發遠東的第二次計劃，將根據地搬到上海,在南京路角上建設沙遜大樓,於是他們踏出對華投資五十年計劃的第一步。他們的資本號稱二十五億元，每年投資一億，如能繼續二十五年，中國的經濟財政就完全握在他們的掌中了。然而他們的投資因有投資契約的優先權，如果收回材料銷賣的利益和本利，二十五年二十五億元的投資，實際祇需十億。他們這樣的支配中國，著著進行，和日本在中國的摩擦，就自然尖銳化了。自從滿洲事變以後，他們猶太財閥的滿洲投資計劃給日本拒絕以來，他們更趨反日，他們的反日傾向立即強化國民政府的反日政策，以致誘發了這次的日華戰爭云云。

這批評用來分析現在日華戰爭的諸現象，確有相當的根據。具體的說起來，例如沙遜財團是著名的猶太財閥，在中國的任何人無有不知的。又像英國對華經濟援助的領袖英蘭銀行總裁諾爾曼氏也是猶太

12 No biographical information about the author is available.

13 This Chinese language paper appearing in Shanghai was controlled by the Japanese authorities; in fact it was just the Chinese edition of the Japanese daily *Shanghai godo*; cf. Frederic Wakeman Jr., The Shanghai Badlands. Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937–1941, Cambridge Mass. 1996, 10.

人。英國派來做中國鐵道總監督的卡克，巴特里克，衛生顧問的拉錫曼，幣制改革的主角李滋羅斯諸氏，完全都是猶太人。李滋羅斯氏提議的橫斷華中南鐵道建設計劃也是由猶太財閥而成的，像杭州南昌間和貴陽緬甸間歸英國系猶太財閥，長沙貴陽間歸德國系猶太財閥，成都貴陽間歸法國系猶太財閥投資，這就足以窺見國際猶太財閥在中國活動狀態的一班。再用眼前的例講起來，據說　[上海是猶太人的街]。要是分析這句話的意義，就可以明瞭猶太人的如何活躍了。

最近日本發見猶太人的擾亂日本金融事件，日本當局曾經逮捕多數的猶太人。這類事件是充分表現猶太民族性格的一例。

總之猶太人的信念，把猶太人以外的民族認作[戈伊]（豬玀之意），來苦惱世界的一切民族。德，意，匈，澳等國家，都採取反猶太人的行動，不外是不堪其弊。我們並不是勸中國排斥猶太人，不過忠告大家認清這所謂猶太人，切莫弄錯應付的對策。

Translation

China and the Jewish Question
By Gao Qing

Mr Wang Long[14] discussed the problem of expelling Jews from Germany and Italy and the problem of Jews in East Asia. He called on Chinese to pay attention to their activities but I wanted to push the issue further and explain to the Chinese reader the state of Jewish activities in China for them to consider.

A scholar looking at the Jewish Question in the world points out that the war between China and Japan is not a war between the nation of Japan and the nation of China, but a war between the nation of Japan and the Jewish financial magnates of England. He explains that Jewish financial magnates are using their excess wealth to establish a 50-year plan of investing in the most profitable countries. In 1870, they started a 50-year investment in Afghanistan, India, and Burma to develop plant and labour industries; by 1900, they had already recouped their investment money. In 1930, in order to quickly expand a second round of the investment plan, they moved their headquarters to Shanghai and built the Sassoon Building on Nanjing Road. Thus they took the first step in starting a 50-year investment in China. Their seed money is 2.5 billion Yuan with the plan of investing 100 million per year. If they were

14 Wang Long is a very common Chinese name.

to continue for 25 years, they would have the Chinese economy completely in their palms. Yet, because their investment has contract priority rights, if they are able to get back their investment by selling back materials and re-investing interest payments and profits, then the investment of 2,5 billion Yuan in 25 years, in fact, only needs 100 million Yuan. Because they steadily make progress in dominating China this way, from time to time, it naturally causes more conflict between Japan and China. Ever since the Manchurian incident,[15] since the Jewish financial magnates' Manchurian investment plan was refused by the Japanese, they speeded up their anti-Japan operations. Their anti-Japanese attitude has strengthened the government's anti-Japan policy to such an extent as to cause this Japan-China war, and so on.

This critical analysis of the current Japan-China war phenomenon is supported by a considerable amount of evidence. Specifically, magnate Sassoon, for example, who is a famous Jewish magnate, is known by everyone in China. Also the British leader aiding the Chinese economy, Sir Norman,[16] the Governor of the Bank of England, is Jewish. In order to build the China railway,[17] Britain sent Inspector General Patrick *Ka-ke*,[18] health advisor Rajchman,[19] and the leader of the currency reform Sir Leith-Ross,[20] all of them are

15 Usually called "Mukden incident" when Japanese officers carried out a bomb attack near Mukden (today Shenyang) in Manchuria on September 18, 1931. It is seen as the beginning of the Manchurian crisis between Japan and China, which led to the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

16 The gentile Lord Montagu Collet Norman (1871–1950) was Governor of the Bank of England between 1920 and 1944.

17 Apart from the Japanese, French, Russians, Germans, and Americans, the British also built railways in China, e.g. between 1905–1908 the Shanghai-Nanjing Railway and a bit later the Kowloon-Canton Railway and the Jinpu Railway (together with the Germans).

18 Unclear name, rendered in pinyin.

19 The baptized physician Ludwik Rajchman (1881–1965) came from a Polish-Jewish family. He was sent several times by the Health Section of the League of Nations as health coordinator to China from 1929 onward. In 1933, he was nominated as technical agent for China by a special commission of the League of Nations in order to encourage Western economic investments in China. The League of Nations, however, withdrew his mandate in the following year because of Rajchman's strong pro-Chinese attitude; cf. Messmer, Jewish Wayfarers, 91–96.

20 The gentile Sir Frederick Leith-Ross (1887–1968) was chief economic adviser to the British government during World War II. He was sent as official government emissary to China in 1935 in order to promote the reform of its *fapi* currency; cf. Niv Horesh, Shanghai's Bund and Beyond. British Banks, Banknote Issuance, and Monetary Policy in China, 1842–1937, New Haven Conn./London 2009, 139.

Jewish. Leith-Ross' suggestion to cut across the building plan of the China Central-South railway, comes also from Jewish magnates, similar to the Hangzhou-Nanchang railway, the Guiyang-Burma railway; the investment turns back to the Jewish magnates of Britain, that of the Changsha-Guiyang railway to German Jewish magnates, the Chengdu-Guiyang railway to the French Jewish magnates. All that is enough to get a glimpse of the movements of international Jewish financial groups in China. Taking those examples, there is a saying that "Shanghai is the Jews' street." If we analyze the meaning of that saying, it is easy to understand how active the Jews are.

Recently the Japanese discovered that Jews had created disturbances in Japanese banking. Following this, Japanese authorities already arrested many Jews. These cases display adequately the characteristics of the Jewish people.

In conclusion, the Jewish people's belief, they regard non-Jewish people as "*geyi*" (meaning swine)[21] vexing all peoples of the world. Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria and other states have all taken anti-Jewish actions, this is because of nothing more than being unable to tolerate their malpractice. We do not try to persuade China to eliminate the Jews, but advise everybody to discern those so-called Jews, be sure not to get them wrong and to take countermeasures against them.

Document 91

Anonymous
November 1, 1941
Journal article, in: The China Weekly Review,[22] *257.*
Harvard-Yenching Library, Newspaper Collection, (W) D8501.C5x

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21 The Chinese word *geyi* (swine, pig) alludes to the similar sounding Hebrew word *goy* for "people" or "gentile."

22 I thank Professor Bernard Wasserstein for making the article available to me. The owner and chief editor of *The China Weekly Review* (published in Shanghai under this name from 1923) was the American journalist John B. Powell (1888–1947). He used the American magazines *The Nation* and *New Republic* as models for his progressive journal. Powell, who opposed Japanese aggression and supported Chiang Kai-shek, regularly reported news regarding the Japanese occupation. His son John W. Powell supported his work for the magazine from 1940 to the summer of 1941. *The China Weekly Review* was closed by the Japanese in early December 1941, and J. B. Powell was interned. He was repatriated in 1943; cf. O'Brien, American Editor, 2 f.

Anti-Semitism Makes Appearance in S'hai

Organized anti-Semitic propaganda made its first overt appearance in Shanghai on October 25 when thousands of leaflets denouncing local Jewry fluttered over the city in the vicinity of the Race Course on Bubbling Well Road after being released on a brisk breeze from an upper floor of the Park Hotel where the local German propaganda and espionage organization is understood to have its headquarters.

The leaflets were printed in English and bore the signature of a body styled the "Aryans' Union."[23] The text called upon local Aryans to boycott Jewish businessmen, claiming that profits made by Jews were used to make bombs with which Aryans were being killed.

"Remember," the leaflets said, "that any dollar or cent you spend in Jewish shops, restaurants, or other Jewish establishments will be turned out in bombs against our own people fighting for world liberation from this Jewish yoke."

The Chinese-language Japanese Army organ, the **Sin Shun Pao**[24] as if by prior arrangement with the disseminators of the leaflets, the same day accused Jewish traders and brokers of manipulating local commodity and share prices – "not the Jews who hang about street corners begging for alms, but those who own sizeable fortunes." The Jews, the paper asserted, played a prominent role in Shanghai's notorious "black market."

More anti-Semitism from a Japanese source reached the press on Oct. 26 when Mr. Shinro Miyazaki, ex-Japanese minister to Iraq, arrived in Kobe and told interviewers that British troops were able to invade and occupy Iraq only because of the Jewish elements in that country. He said that when he arrived in Bagdad [sic], the Iraquian [sic] army was already in the hands of the British and when British troops moved in, they were aided by more than 80,000 Jews who had been residing there.

After the British troops arrived, Mr. Miyazaki said, more than 5000 Jews were massacred in Bagdad by natives who were "angered over the fact that the Jews not only aided the British but also hampered the Iraquis [sic] efforts to attain independence."

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23 The Arier Union was founded by Shanghai-based German businessmen who were members of the local chapter of the NSDAP.

24 *Xin Shenbao* (New Shenbao).

Document 92

Anonymous
November 8, 1941
Journal article, in: The China Weekly Review, 273 f.
Harvard – Yenching Library, Newspaper Collection, (W) D8501.C5x

Nazis Continue Anti-Jewish Campaign Despite Their Denial of Circular

The German Nazi party organization in Shanghai followed up its distribution of the anti-Semitic circulars from an upper floor of the Park Hotel on Sunday afternoon, Oct. 26, by distributing this week a circular letter ordering the boycotting of some 270 Jewish and Soviet business establishments in the city by Aryan Germans. Many of the shops listed in the letter belong to German and Austrian Jews who are attempting to re-establish themselves here, following expulsion from their homes by Hitler and his followers.

The distribution of the circular letter threatening those who disobeyed the boycott order, had the effect of confirming in the minds of the Shanghai public the Nazi responsibility for the original anti-Semitic circular, despite their denial of responsibility. The letter declared that anyone violating the order to boycott Jewish shops would be photographed and a report of his action, together with the picture, would be sent to Berlin and placed on file for future consideration. The list which accompanied the letter contained a number of Soviet and White Russian concerns, and one German "Aryan" concern, the proprietors of which are political refugees from Hitler's paradise. One Swiss firm and one British firm were also listed among the concerns to be boycotted, the British firm apparently because it employs a few Jews. The reason for boycotting the Swiss firm was not stated.

The firms to be boycotted were described as "Judengeschaefte in Shanghai," (Jewish shops in Shanghai) and the list included fur stores, pharmacies, women's tailors, photographers, leather and hand-bag shops, shops selling children's garments, stores selling shoes and stockings, food and provision establishments, jewellers, art dealers, men's tailors shops selling cloth, artisans and specialty shops, beauty parlors, cabarets, theaters, night-clubs, etc. Each shop name was accompanied by its address. At the bottom of the list, which included several non-Jewish stores employing Jewish assistants, were a number of Soviet Russians. There are thirty places of amusement which are barred to "Aryans," and also included in the list is one hotel (not the Park) and one theater. There are 69 women's dress-making and tailor shops.

There also were several notable exceptions, which obviously could not have been overlooked by those who compiled the list, leading to the supposition that the proprietors may have had advance notice and took action, possibly of a financial nature, to prevent their concerns being listed. This was true of one popular night club, known to be Jewish-owned, which was omitted from the published list. This place happens to be popular with the local Nazis, who are its chief patrons.

Some persons were inclined to regard this latest example of Nazi "terrorism" with amusement, believing it would cause the local Nazis more inconvenience than loss suffered by the Jewish shops. However, responsible circles in the city viewed the development with considerable apprehension, because it is certain to engender racial hatred and may lead to violence, especially if (or when) the local Nazis decide to take the next step and paste labels on the shops or attempt to picket them.

This latest action of the local Nazis, following the distribution of the anti-Jewish circular from the windows of the Park Hotel, lends emphasis to the editorial suggestion in last week's issue of *The Review* that the Nazi Propaganda Bureau on the 16th floor of the Park Hotel should be closed, despite denials by the Nazi leaders as well as the management of the Park Hotel that such an Axis headquarters exist on the premises. As stated in our previous reference to the subject, the Park Hotel is located within the U.S. Marines defense sector, hence the American authorities – in cooperation with the Municipal Police – should not hesitate to make a thorough search of the entire hotel and issue a definite warning to the hotel proprietors and the Nazi guests, who monopolize most of the rooms and facilities of the hotel, against any acts likely to disrupt local peace and order.

Japanese Also Have Propaganda Center[25]

It is quite understandable that Nazis prefer to reside in the Park Hotel, which is Chinese owned, rather than other leading hotels which are owned by

25 Photo below the last line of a large multi-storey building, the caption reads: "The above is a picture of one of the leading Japanese propaganda centers, located in the International Settlement south of the creek, that is, in the area supposedly controlled by the Anglo-Americans. The white spot on the ground floor is a large sign which states that here is located the 'Modern Science Library of Japan.' The building is located on Szechuen Road between Canton and Foochow and is adjacent to the well-known building of British Imperial Chemicals. The entire ground floor of the building is occupied by a school where hundreds of Chinese youths are taught the Japanese language and other things Japanese. The large white sign states that the Library contains books concerning Japanese industry, economics, and civilization,

Britons, and there can be no logical objection to this situation, so long as the Nazis do not use the hotel as a center for conducting activities inimical to the peace and welfare of the city. But when they engage in activities likely to cause a breach of the peace, such as the distribution of anti-Semitic circulars and boycott letters and lists, those responsible should be immediately ordered to discontinue such activities or withdraw into Japanese-controlled territory.

The Nazi Propaganda Bureau and headquarters was established on the sixteenth floor of the Park Hotel about six months ago, following the arrival here of several Nazi publicity experts who had been expelled from the United States. These men were said to have brought with them considerable amounts of Nazi money previously on deposit in American banks. There are two apartments on this floor consisting of three rooms each, the monthly rental being between $ 8000 and $ 10,000. Located two floors above the sky-terrace, where the hotel grill-room and ballroom are located, the sixteenth floor provides an excellent view of the entire city and |274| is unexcelled for observation purposes. The local Municipal Police took cognizance of this factor during the Sino-Japanese hostilities and compelled the hotel management to close the sky-terrace and ballroom, this action being taken following a complaint by the Japanese military authorities that the place was being used for observation purposes.

Following the arrival of the Nazi experts and the establishment of the Nazi Propaganda Bureau and Headquarters at the Park Hotel, the city has literally been flooded with Nazi propaganda of practically every known type of booklet and circular, some being of a most expensive nature. All bear the earmarks of expert production, with art work well above the Shanghai average.[26] The subject of Nazi propaganda is discussed elsewhere in this issue of *The Review*, but it is said that Nazi publicity has become so extensive that it has over-taxed the capacity of the local Nazi-owned printing plant and has over-flowed into printing plants owned by Britons and Americans. The publication of a "blacklist" here similar to the Anglo-American action in South America would have some interesting repercussions, particularly in the printing industry.

'both at home and abroad.' The sign states that the library is open to all persons from 9 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.; that all books and magazines are supplied free for reading on the premises, but if anyone wishes to take them out, a deposit of $5 is required. The deposit is refunded when the book is returned. It also states that the Library includes a 'circulating' department where anyone may obtain books for a small charge."

26 Regarding German efforts to popularize Nazi-propaganda in Shanghai in a professional way, cf. Freyeisen, Shanghai, 274–278.

One American office in Shanghai exhibited this week a collection of thirty different pieces of Nazi propaganda which had been received in the past four or five months. The list ranged from an 80-page illustrated magazine to books consisting of 300 pages. The latest to be distributed was a 38-page booklet entitled, "How They Lie …" consisting largely of excerpts from news reports distributed here by Reuters and United Press, arranged in parallels columns to emphasize the difference between official statements of British political and military leaders and the final outcome of particular events referred to in the dispatches, such as the Balkan campaign, the campaigns in Greece, Crete, etc. Another late pamphlet entitled, "Two Men on a Boat," dealt in detail with the Roosevelt-Churchill "Eight Point Declaration."[27] On the last page appeared this paragraph referring to the President of the United States:

> "Surrounded by a group of rapacious financiers and money-sharks, resentful and vindictive Jews, armament profiteers, and other rogues, the sought re-election for a third term by deliberate lying. He solemnly promised to keep the United States out of war. So soon as the third term was secure, he all of a sudden discovered all manner of perils allegedly threatening the Western Hemisphere. When the American people still persisted in declining participation in Britain's war, Roosevelt cast away the mask … His latest order to the American Navy to shoot on Axis vessels at sight, is a plain act of war. To pursue the selfish aims of his plutocratic war-clique, he will sacrifice American lives … He feels no compunction at making all decent and peaceful Americans labour and toil for their own enslavement … History will call it the greatest betrayal ever perpetrated by a President against the American people … Look for the outcome!"

Space is unavailable for a summary of all of these booklets containing thousands of words of attacks on Americans and Britons and their policies and institutions. Many of the booklets consist of virulent attacks on Great Britain, one being a clever imitation of "Parliamentary Debates – Official Report of the House of Commons."

Britons, who appear to view Nazi activities here so calmly, should be aware of the fact that the Germans have a deep-seated desire for revenge which they are planning to satisfy as soon as the opportunity is offered. This desire for revenge on local Britons is concerned with the deportation of Germans from Shanghai – after the Armistice – in World War I. While the deportation of Germans from Shanghai resulted from official action in Peking, the Germans have always held the British responsible and have planned to even scores. The

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27 This was the Atlantic Charter, drafted by Churchill and Roosevelt and issued on August 14, 1941, in which the Allied policy for the postwar order was formulated.

Nazi program in this regard was outlined in a recent book, written by a local Nazi, for circulation in Germany.

Document 93

Tang Leang-li[28]
February 16, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Times, 4.
Microfilm; LC, Center for Research Libraries, no. 3977

Shanghai, Hunting Ground of Thriving Jewish Racketeers
Prominent But Shady Part Played by Unscrupulous Jews
In City's Economic Life and Development
By Ambassador Tang Leang-li

In the course of one of his discourses President Wang Jingwei[29] had some very pertinent remarks to make on the character of the Jew: "Anarchists and communists, who take special pride in their condemnation of all things traditionally dear to China, have an ancestor of their own in the Jew. The latter has neither a State nor a national instinct which he can call his own, and so he entertains a bitter hatred for other people's countries and their national characteristics. He has lost his own culture and his moral scruples, and so cherishes a strong abhorrence of other people's cultural accomplishments and moral principles. In this hatred for other people's statehood and national instinct, and in this abhorrence of other people's cultural and moral attainments, as entertained by the Jew, is then to be found the spring fountain of anarchism and communism."

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28 Tang Leang-li (1901–1970), was a Chinese journalist born in Indonesia. He was active in the Nationalist government and in Wang Jingwei's (1883–1944) puppet regime, in which he was given the title "Ambassador on special assignment." He was arrested by the Nationalist government in 1945. Released in 1949, he returned to Indonesia, where he continued his journalistic activities; cf. Zhou Xun, Chinese Perception of the "Jews" and Judaism. A History of the Youtai, Kondon 2013, 146.

29 Wang (1883–1944) originally belonged to the left wing of the Kuomintang (National People's Party of China). He eventually found himself completely at odds with their leader, Chiang Kai-shek. On March 30, 1940 he founded the anti-communist government of the Republic of China in Nanjing under Japanese control.

In these few sentences are given, not only the spiritual forces responsible for the rise of anarchism and communism, but also a remarkably penetrating analysis of the character of the Jew. This personage has often been dubiously referred to as "a man without a country," but the true import of this meaningful phrase has never before been so strikingly explained.

For the principal trait of the Jew's character, as has been pointed out over and again, is intrigue combined with racial hatred – a machination, social, national, and international. The Jews claim that the word "revolution" is their own invention, a means by which to strive to get at the accomplishment of their ultimate purpose – world domination and world rule.

Jewish Danger Felt

The Jewish danger to world civilization has longer been felt by farsighted leaders in all parts of the world. In Japan, for instance, in the elections held in May 1942, Lt.-Gen. Nobutaka Shihoden,[30] a retired soldier, was elected to a House of Representatives, polling the heaviest number of votes throughout the country on a platform of anti-Semitism, Lt.-Gen. Shihoden, who is known to the Japanese people as the leader of the "Jew Ostracism Movement," stated after his election: "I am determined to sacrifice myself for the nation's cause – especially to drive Jewish influences out of Japan."

More recently, Mr. Toshio Shiratori,[31] former Japanese Ambassador to Italy, also gave public expression to his denunciation of Judaism. The well-known Japanese diplomat said: "The ideal of the Jewish people is to establish hegemony over the world by bringing about the decline of other peoples and enforce a form of oligarchy which may be termed theocracy."

Explaining the success which this minority people who have lost their fatherland has so far gained in the pursuance of their inordinate ambition to dominate the world, the Japanese diplomat correctly diagnosed the world prior to the outbreak of the present war as one in which each individual was a god unto himself, keen on materialistic gains and given to pugnacity –

30 Shiōden (1878–1962) was a high ranking officer in the Imperial Japanese Army, and a member of the House of Peers from 1942 on. He was a fervent anti-Semite, propagating Jewish conspiracy theories during and after World War II; cf. David G. Goodman/Masanori Miyazawa, Jews in the Japanese Mind. The History and Uses of a Cultural Stereotpye, Boston Mass. 2000, 122–130.

31 Shiratori (1887–1949), a Japanese diplomat, became an adviser to the Japanese Foreign Minister in 1940. He advocated Japanese military expansionism and the axis between Germany, Italy, and Japan. In November 1948 he was sentenced by the International Military Court for the Far East to life imprisonment for supporting a war of aggression; cf. ibid., 114 f.

a world reduced to an inorganic state and therefore admirably vulnerable to Jewish intrigue.

Reactions in Germany

National Socialist Germany, of course, has been the first country to attend thoroughly to the work of ousting the undesirable Jewish community from her domains – for it was Germany which, in order to save her own people from ruin first laid bare most vividly the true character of Judaism, having witnessed the outrageous conduct of the Jews in Germany following the first World War.

The wave of anti-Semitism started in Germany, soon spread all over Europe, and in the course of its development the true character of the Jews, as they wandered across the continent, became all the more exposed. With his entry into a new country, the Jew loses no time in the acquisition of a new nationality, and becomes the most ardent vocal patriot of the land that gives him shelter, but never contributing any real effort to its welfare. Devoid of any national consciousness as he is, the Jew's immediate concern is the acquisition of wealth and worldly goods and the power they bring.

When forced to leave the land of his temporary refuge, the Jew's antagonism towards that land becomes as ardent as his erstwhile professed patriotism, and his nominal allegiance is transferred to the new country that happens to give him asylum. This action is repeated again and again until the Jew finds himself practically barred from the whole of Europe.

Thus driven from the countries of Europe, the Jews have been forced to seek a haven elsewhere across the seas. Shanghai has thus become one of the principal centres where these people, unwanted elsewhere, have found not only a refuge but also a happy hunting-ground for the exercise of their latent powers of self-aggrandizement at the expense of public interests.

Jewish Influx in China

Jewish immigration into China, of course, has been traced to the middle of the 6th century. Jewish refugees from Palestine trekked their way through Central Asia and some of them settled in Shensi. In the 9th century other groups of Jews also came to Kwantung.[32] In the middle of the 12th century, moreover, a large number of Jews arrived in Honan,[33] and a fairly large colony was found in Kaifeng. All these Jews, however, were absorbed by the Chinese, and their traces can no more be definitely established in this country.

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32 Guandong, a province in Southern China.

33 Henan, a province in central China.

The history of modern Jewish intrusion on Chinese soil began in 1832, when a group of them connected with the East India Company and headed by the Sassoon family came here to engage in the infamous opium trade. Since then they have gradually planted themselves firmly in the commercial and financial life of China, especially of Shanghai. But their dealings have never been connected with straightforward commercial or industrial enterprises of real benefit to the community. What we connect their names with is opium dealing, or more usually opium smuggling, or real estate operations of a less reputable nature, of financial jugglery through their banking and similar institutions, or stockbroking and general chicanery in connection with the stock-exchange. They have been parasitic entrepreneurs pure and simple, using their financial acumen and lack of scruples to make millions out of Chinese ignorance and gullibility.

Practically all these Jews – the Ezras, the Judahs, the Hayims, the Hardoons, the Kadoories, the Sassoons, the Arnolds [sic][34] – claimed to be British and thus the British in Chinese eyes, got the discredit for their actions. Indeed, these people gained for the British a bad name with the Chinese far more than the genuine Britisher, whose activities have generally been of a legitimate straightforward nature, even if he has been wont to make the utmost of his extraterritorial privileges. Another Jewish family whose activities have been to the detriment of Shanghai and the Chinese people are the owners of the now defunct North-China Daily News, the mouthpiece of British Imperialism, notorious for its diehard attitude on both local and Chinese national affairs.

American Jews Appear

America, too has had her Jews to help in discrediting Americans in Chinese eyes; not that normal American business methods do not carry hard dealing as near as possible to sharp practice, if not well over the border line. The case of the Raven group is a good example and the career of its leader, Mr. C. V. Starr,[35] a Jew if not by paternal but certainly by maternal descent,

34 Harry Edward Arnhold (1839–1950) was born in Hong Kong into a British-Jewish family originating in Germany. He settled in Shanghai and became an entrepreneur with close business ties to Victor Sassoon. Arnhold was chairman of the SMC from 1929 to 1931, and from 1934 to 1937.

35 Cornelius Vander Starr (1892–1968) was a gentile American entrepreneur. He came to Shanghai in 1918 and established several insurance agencies. He was committed to the promotion of American business interests in Shanghai, and in this context managed his newspaper the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* until he was ordered by the Japanese to leave Shanghai in 1940; cf. Paul French/Carl Crow, A Tough Old

is typical – first attempting to make money out of the East in Japan, where he arrived in 1920 until he found that Japanese patriotism, combined with Japanese law, did not allow any opening for his particular types of business genius, and so moved on to Shanghai.

Here, he joined forces with a fellow American, a Mr. Raven,[36] who in later years was to find himself behind prison bars as a result of his dishonest practices in connection with the American Oriental Banking Corporation and its allied companies. Starr, with the help of Raven, started a local insurance company, the American Asiatic Underwriters, which was successfully developed chiefly with the assistance rendered by a staff of American-educated Chinese. The success of the American Asiatic Underwriters led to the establishment of associated organizations, the Asia Insurance Company (the assets of which, namely, the money of the policy holders, were later used to buy up the United States Insurance Company), the International Assurance Company and the Underwriter's Savings Bank. The money belonging to these various companies, however, was steadily transferred to New York, so that when the Pacific hostilities broke out in December 1941, there were no funds locally available to meet liabilities. The policy holders, the great majority of whom were Chinese, are thus left, completely unprotected. Their money to the tune of US$ 8,000,000 is in the United States, in the hands of and at the disposal of Mr. C. V. Starr, who absconded in time to America.

Yellow Journalism

Besides his insurance companies he had his finger in such pies as Reliance Motors, the Metropolitan Land Company, the Cosmopolitan Land Company and the *Shanghai Evening Post* under Starr's direction was a typical product of cheap American journalism, used far more as a propaganda and publicity instrument to further the business aims of its proprietor than to give the public news. At the same time it typified American methods and policy in regard to Chinese affairs generally. While the British have been at least pen in their imperialism and assumption of superiority, the Americans have made a

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China Hand. The Life, Times, and Adventures of an American in Shanghai, Hong Kong 2006, 171–174.

36 Frank J. Raven (1875–1943), a pious Christian, came to Shanghai in 1904, where he made a fortune in his realty, finance and investment enterprises. Very active in Shanghai social life and held in generally high esteem, his unexpected bankruptcy in 1935 was a scandal, especially after he was found guilty of fraud and embezzlement by Shanghai's American court; cf. Eileen P. Scully, Bargaining with the State from Afar. American Citizenship in Treaty Port China 1844–1942, New York 2001, 183, 187–192.

pretence of friendship and good-fellowship, while claiming exactly the same privileged position as the British and exploiting the Chinese even more.

Thus the *Evening Post* under Starr's direction outwardly professed to be a Chinese protagonist, but its professed friendship was a mere sham, behind which selfish American interests were sedulously fostered. On no occasion could the paper be found to have worked genuinely for China or to have put justice for China above the narrow interest of America. Of recent years this was notably the case. Its rancorous opposition to the Peace movement, its almost unveiled support of Chungking terrorism, its consistent attempts to deepen Sino-Japanese antagonism and prevent any rapprochement and the achievement of the New Order in East Asia stamped it as a bitter enemy of the Chinese people.

Latest Invading Horde

We have so far only referred to the Jewish community of Shanghai which played a considerable, but none too honourable, part in Shanghai's commercial and financial life, long before the latest horde arrived to engage in multifarious minor activities which only tended to blacken further the name of their race, and helped to dispel much of the genuine sympathy that the Chinese people might have originally felt for them.

For as a result of the intensification of the anti-Semitic movement in Germany and Central Europe, Shanghai became subjected to a writable Jewish plague, and over 30,000 managed to make their way in before authority could find a means to keep them out. Though they had chiefly lost their homes because of their parasitic activities, unfortunately for Shanghai, expulsion from Europe did not lead to reform. All these Jews knew and still know is how to be parasitic, contributing very little if anything in the way of honest and worthwhile endeavour to Shanghai's life.

Thus these Jews prefer to devise shady financial and similar transactions as a means of gaining a living. The "black market" has become their happy hunting-ground, in connection with which the counterfeiting of well known products is one of their favourite devices. Then, just recently, we have had the lawyer who, declaring that the retail tax on sales was irregular and that he could arrange for it not to be paid, collected quite a considerable sum in retaining fees before his game was stopped by pronouncements by the authorities.

House Rent Racket

One of the worst rackets in Shanghai in recent years has been that in connection with housing. The shortage and the consequent necessity of the public have been exploited to the utmost by certain conscienceless, anti-

social individuals, almost entirely drawn from the Jewish fraternity. House [sic] have been taken on lease and then subdivided and let out to sub-tenants on oppressive terms, little or no attention being paid to such matters as overcrowding, sanitation, and the like.

There has been the key-money racket, and the exorbitant prices demanded for a few sticks of worthless furniture before possession can be obtained. Though the local authorities have since taken steps to try to put an end to this evil, so far they have found it impossible to stamp it out altogether and the exploiters have continued to batten on the public need. Agencies have actually been formed to exploit the situation, and their advertisements appear regularly in the press, with long lists of premises allegedly at their disposal. These have introduced a new form of robbery in the "registration fees." Registration of itself, however, produces nothing, before the advertised houses can be seen, a "viewing fee" must be paid, and even then the premises, when finally their address is obtained, often prove to be occupied.

Disowned by Reich

While they have further blackened the name of their own race by their shady activities, these Jews, who have often been regarded as, and have indeed sometimes presented themselves to be, people of Germany (whence indeed many of them had been expelled), they have nevertheless not blackened that country's name, for they are not under Germany's aegis. Indeed, Germany has taken pains to disown them.

Thus in every department of Shanghai's life can be found the malign influence of Jewry, responsible for the worst aspects of British imperialism and American double-dealing and sharp practice. Fortunately, the wings of the traditional major practitioners have been effectively clipped by the events of the past year, but there still remain the host of recently arrived minor parasites to plague the city. Already they have considerably inflamed local distress by their operations. One of the most urgent problems to be studied to-day by the various local authorities is that of keeping Shanghai out of Jewish clutches, and keeping the financial activities in accordance with the well being of the community.

Document 94

Inuzuka Koreshige[37] *(Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs) to Michel Speelman*[38] *(CAEJR)*
August 27, 1940
Typewritten letter (copy), 2 pages; the copy was obviously prepared by the CAEJR, both pages have the printed letterhead of the CAEJR. On the first page is a receipt stamp (October [day illegible] 1940).
Microfilm; AJJDC Collection, RG 33–44, file 460

Copy.
August 27th, 1940.
Dear Mr. Speelman,

With reference to your letter of 15th August, I have been asked by one of the Japanese Authorities to submit to your Committee the following questions. I would appreciate your responsible answers thereto at an early date.

1. The Committee rejected cooperation with the scheme broached by Captain Inuzuka to Mr. Speelman on the ground that it was a political scheme. Does not the Committee realize that no country in the world admits aliens who do not render services calculated to enhance the prosperity of the country which gives them refuge, as well as their own prosperity? Are the leaders of local Jewry aware of that fact? If so, are they prepared to agree to the application of the above principle to the local Jewish refugees?

2. Japan agreed to accommodate in that section of Shanghai now under her occupation Jewish refugees totaling 20 % of the Japanese population of the said section. This she did purely out of sympathetic and humanitarian consideration for the Jews upon whom such calamity had befallen in Central Europe. The Committee's attention is invited, in this connection, to the fact that every inch of Hongkew and Yangtszepoo areas in which the Jewish refugees are now enjoying peaceful life was secured by the blood shed by Japan's armed forces. And in view of the sweeping anti-Semitic propaganda and anti-Semitism which it is feared might spread to and be aggravated in the Far East, it would appear to be to their own best interest for the Jewish people living within Japanese-occupied territories to refrain from any expressions of opinion likely to prove irksome to the Japanese Authorities and people, and to endeavour at all

37 About Inuzuka, see ch. 3, n. 11.
38 About Speelman, see ch. 2, n. 94.

times to make the best possible impression upon them. Does the Committee realize that this question is one having a direct bearing on the happiness and welfare of the Jewish people in Shanghai? It is feared that refusal on the part of the Jewish Gemeinde to cooperate in the scheme, following the example of the Committee, might be productive of consequences they little desire.

3. It may be recalled that at the last convention of the Far Eastern Jewish Congress at Harbin, a resolution was adopted to the effect that Jews in the Orient should cooperate with Japan for their common prosperity.[39] No similar expression of intention, however, has been made by the Jewish people living in the Japanese-occupied territory of Shanghai.

|2| It is therefore suggested that the Committee should not let slip this opportunity to cooperate with the Japanese Authorities in the above-mentioned scheme, so that the Japanese Authorities might be duly impressed with the sincere desire which the Committee doubtless cherishes to assist in Japan's cause.

Yours sincerely,

signed: Captain K. Inuzuka.

Document 95

Anonymous[40]
November 27, 1940
Typewritten newspaper article (copy, 3 pages), originally in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, November 24, 1940, 7.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/73B

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39 Inuzuka refers to the third conference of the National Council of Far Eastern Jewish Communities, held in December 1939. Despite its name, the Council represented only the Russian Jewish community, and primarily that of Harbin and what was then Manchukuo. For the Japanese the meetings were occasions to affirm Jewish compliance with Japanese control and assure themselves of Jewish loyalty.

40 The copy of the newspaper article, obviously prepared by the German consulate in Shanghai, was completely faithful to the original. Words that have been typed here in a spaced manner or which have been underlined were Romanized in the newspaper article.

Anlage zu Ber. d. Gen. Kons.[41] Shanghai vom 27. Nov. 1940 – B 764 –

Abschrift.
SHANGHAI JEWISH CHRONICLE, 24. NOVEMBER 1940.

Japans Stellung zur Judenfrage.
Captain INUZUKA sprach im Tokioter Rundfunk über
das Emigranten-Problem in Shanghai

Captain Inuzuka, in dessen Händen die Betreuung der jüdischen Angelegenheiten seitens der japanischen Marine des auswärtigen Amtes und des Koain[42] (Asia Developing Board) liegt, hielt vor einiger Zeit in Tokio eine grosse Rundfunkrede, welche wohl die persönliche Meinung von Captain Inuzuka zum Ausdruck bringt, sicher jedoch auch die Stellungnahme der amtlichen japanischen Kreise wiedergibt. Captain Inuzuka hat sich in Shanghai durch sein ~~in Europa heimatlos~~ Verständnis für die seelischen und materiellen Nöte der in Europa heimatlos gewordenen Juden, die gezwungen waren, in Shanghai Zuflucht zu suchen, starke Sympathien in jüdischen Kreisen erworben. Er gilt mit Recht als ein aufrichtiger Freund des Judentums. Sein Verständnis für jüdische Probleme, das in der Rundfunkrede so klar zum Ausdruck kommt, wurde durch ein Dankschreiben der Ashkenari [sic] -Gemeinde in Kobe,[43] eine der größten jüdischen Gemeinden in Japan, entsprechend gewürdigt. Wir veröffentlichen nachstehend sowohl die interessanten und grundlegenden Ausführungen Captain Inuzukas als auch den Inhalt des Dankschreibens der jüdischen Gemeinde in Kobe.

Jeder Besucher Shanghais – so führte Captain Inuzuka aus – muß über die grosse Zahl hier lebender Juden aus Deutschland, Österreich und dem übrigen Mitteleuropa erstaunt sein. Der größte Teil von ihnen, nämlich

41 Bericht des General-Konsulats. The copy of the article was attached to a report by M. Fischer (Consul-General, Shanghai) and E. Bracklo (German Legation, Beijing) that was cabled to the Foreign Office in Berlin; cf. Heinz Eberhard Maul, Japan und die Juden. Studie über die Judenpolitik des Kaiserreiches Japan während der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus 1933–1945. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bonn 2000, 135, <http://hss.ulb.uni-bonn.de/2000/0225/0225.pdf> (October 18, 2016).

42 The Kôain (East Asia Development Board) was established by the Japanese government in 1938 to coordinate official China policy. Its original purpose was to promote economic development in China. The Japanese Army, however, turned it into an institution for organizing slave labor in war industries. The Kôain functioned until 1942.

43 For the Jewish community in Kobe, see Document 59.

11 000, wohnt in dem von der Japanese Naval Landing Party besetzten Teil des Internationalen Settlements nördlich des Soochow-Creeks. Diese Zahl bedeutet 20 % der japanischen Einwohnerschaft Shanghais. Der Grund, warum diese Menschen alle nach Shanghai kamen, ist in der Tatsache zu suchen, daß zur Zeit des Anschlusses Österreichs, Shanghai der einzige Ort war, dessen Betreten nicht von Besitz einen Passes oder Visums abhängig war. Nach den Prinzipien der japanischen Militärbehörden, keinen Teil der Bevölkerung in irgendeiner Weise zu diskriminieren, gemäß der Forderung nach der Gleichheit aller Völker und Rassen, die die Japaner bei der Friedenskonferenz nach dem ersten Weltkrieg als ihr Grundprinzip erhoben, wurde auch den jüdischen Flüchtlingen Unterkunft gewährt. Die jüdischen Flüchtlinge haben dies umso höher anerkannt, als sie eben erst den Verfolgungen entronnen waren.

Diese Flüchtlinge hatten aus Deutschland nur 10 Mark pro Person mitnehmen können und kamen hier völlig mittellos an. Die einflußreichen Juden Shanghais organisierten Hilfskomitees für die Flüchtlinge und öffentliche Gebäude wurden ihnen zur Verfügung gestellt. Als jedoch der Zustrom von Emigranten kein Ende nahm, ersuchte das jüdische Hilfskomitee um Sperrung der Einwanderung. Die Japaner untersuchten die Sachlage und nach einer Konferenz mit den Behörden des Internationalen Settlements und den deutschen Behörden, sowie den jüdischen Stellen, wurde die Einwanderung ~~von~~ nach Shanghai vorübergehend gesperrt. Die Französische Konzession schloss sich diesen Massnahmen an. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren 8880 Emigranten bei den japanischen Behörden registriert. Die Sperre erstreckte sich nicht auf die be- |2| reits unterwegs befindlichen Juden. Für die Einwanderung von Eltern, Ehegatten und Kindern wurde eine besondere Regelung vorgesehen. Heute leben 11 100 Refugees in Hongkew und Yangtsepoo [sic]. Ohnehin wurde jedoch durch den inzwischen ausbrechenden europäischen Krieg und die damit verbundenen Transportschwierigkeiten die Möglichkeit zur Reise nach Shanghai stark eingeschränkt. Entgegen den völlig unbegründeten Zeitungsmeldungen, die von der bevorstehenden Ankunft weiterer tausender jüdischer Emigranten sprachen, sind seit November 1939 nur einige hundert Emigranten im Japanischen Sektor eingetroffen.

Anfangs – so fuhr Captain Inuzuka fort – litten die Emigranten an Heimweh und träumten von einer Rückkehr nach Europa. Schon längst haben sie jedoch begonnen, Ostasien als ihre neue Heimat zu betrachten, um so mehr als sie erkannt haben, dass die Gleichberechtigung aller Rassen und die Freiheit der Religionsausübung ein Grundprinzip der Japaner ist.

Captain Inuzuka gab nunmehr seinen japanischen Hörern einen Überblick über den jüdischen Aufbau in dem von Japanern besetzten Teil des

Settlements. Besonderer Erwähnung tat er hierbei der „Shanghai Jewish Chronicle". Der Vertreter der japanischen Marinebehörden führte aus, dass die „Jewish Chronicle", in voller Erkenntnis der von den Japanern vertretenen Grundsätze der Gleichheit und Humanität, in hohem Maße zum gegenseitigen Verständnis beitrage.

Im weiteren Verlauf seines Überblickes über den jüdischen Aufbau in Hongkew ging Captain Inuzuka auch auf die teilweise erhobene Frage ein, ob die jüdischen Unternehmen den japanischen Betrieben nicht Konkurrenz machen. Hierzu erklärte er, eine moderne Gemeinschaft von 11 000 Menschen habe ihre eigenen Organisationen und Bedürfnisse, überdies sei das jüdische Geschäftszentrum von dem japanischen Geschäftsmittelpunkt weit entfernt und unsere Behörden unternehmen die notwendigen Schritte, um unerwünschte Konkurrenz zu verhindern. „Ich habe oft mit einflußreichen Juden dieser Stadt gesprochen", erklärte Captain Inuzuka, „und diese Gespräche haben viel zum gegenseitigen Verständnis beigetragen."

Im weiteren Verlauf seiner ausführlichen Rde [sic] ging Captain Inuzuka auch auf den jüdischen Beitrag zum Aufbau Shanghaier Konzessionen ein und erinnerte daran, daß General Gordon,[44] der im englischen Auftrage die Stadt erbaute, in Erkenntnis der Fähigkeiten der Juden diese in weitestem Maße zur Erfüllung seiner Aufgabe heranzog. Daher ständen auch heute in der Finanz- und Kulturwelt Shanghais die Juden mit an führender Stelle.

In seinen weiteren Ausführungen ging Captain Inuzuka auf die Geschichte der europäischen Judenverfolgungen ein und wies, unter Hinweis auf Spanien, darauf hin, dass die Nazis nicht die ersten auf diesem Gebiet sind. Es sei letzten Endes doch der Konflikt zwischen Judentum und Christentum. Die Juden hätten sich dem westlichen Individualismus nicht anpassen können und eine Vermischung mit Völkern Europas sei ebenso unmöglich wie zwischen Öl und Wasser. Mehr denn je mache sich heute unter den Juden der Drang „Zurück nach Osten" bemerkbar. Der Zionismus, der den Aufbau eines jüdischen Staates in Palästina erstrebe, habe bereits 90 Prozent der 17 Millionen Juden erfasst. Die Juden seien in ihrem Ursprung ein orientalisches Volk. Japan habe die Mission |3| und die Verantwortung übernommen, die asiatischen Völker zum Wohlergehen zu führen. Das neue Aufbauwerk der Juden trage zu neuem Frieden und Ordnung in Ostasien bei. „Wir werden im Umgang mit den Juden immer das Prinzip der Gleichheit walten

44 Charles George Gordon (1833–1885), major in the British Army, arrived in China in 1860. He was appointed senior engineer officer of the British troops and surveyed the city of Shanghai and its surroundings after the Taiping rebels were vanquished in the early 1860s.

lassen, wenn die Juden sich gegenüber den japanischen Behörden immer loyal verhalten werden."

DANKSCHREIBEN DER JUEDISCHEN GEMEINDE IN KOBE.

Eine der größten jüdischen Gemeinden Japans, die Gemeinde in Kobe, richtete an Captain Inuzuka nach seiner Rede ein in herzlichsten Worten gehaltenes Dankschreiben, in dem es heisst:

„Ihre Worte, wie man sie in der Verteidigung und Begrüssung einer verwaisten und heimatlosen Nation heutzutage so selten hört, haben unsere Herzen mit tiefer Bewegung erfüllt und wir danken Gott dafür, dass wir Freunde besitzen, die zu unserer Verteidigung aufstehen und gute Worte über uns sprechen. Die Sprache ist zu arm, um unsere tiefempfundene und von ganzem Herzen kommende Dankbarkeit für ihre Rede auszudrücken. Nehmen Sie bitte den Dank der immer-leidenden, immer-wandernden, heimatlosen Nation für Ihre edle Begrüssungsrede und Ihr Verständnis entgegen und seien Sie versichert, dass unsere Nation zutiefst und in höchster Dankbarkeit die Freundschaft und Gastlichkeit des grossen japanischen Reiches anerkennt."

Document 96

Anonymous
December 26, 1941
Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 34, 1, 3, 5.
Russian; translation by Yuri Pines
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Банкет в честь полк. Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука в Шанхайском Еврейском Клубе

В воскресенье 21-го с. м. в Шанхайском Еврейском Клубе был устроен большой банкет в честь прибывшего сюда на время полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука. На банкете присутствовал также секретарь полковника Н. Ясуе г. Фужита. В банкете приняли участие более 25 лиц – представителей местных еврейских общественных организаций и Дайренской Еврейской Общины.

Речь капит. К. Инозука

Во время банкета капитан К. Инозука выразил пожелание сказать несколько слов о современном положении. «Я прибыл сюда» – сказал

он – «три года тому назад. За зто время в Шанхае произошли большие перемены, резким образом изменилась вся политическая конюнктура. Вы все прекрасно знаете, что Япония не желала войны, что все наши Императоры на протяжении всей нашей истории стремились к миру и справедливости. Мы стремились к миру и в Тихом Океане. В целях устранения угрозы войны, предотвращения уничтожения цивилизации и бесцельного уничтожения жизней, Япония послала в Соединенные Штаты специальных делегатов. Соединенные Штаты, однако, неправильно поняли наши намерения – они думали, что мы ищем мира из-за нашей слабости. Они, однако, глубоко ошиблись. Япония всегда стремилась к миру и никогда не прибегала к силе не будучи вынужденной к зтому. Америка зтого не поняла или не хотела понять, она не желала прислушиваться к нашим делегатам. Зто очень печально, но раз Япония решила воевать, она не сложит оружия до окончательной победы. Наши цели и задачи ясны, но за то американский народ не знает, из-за чего его правительство втянуло его в войну, и у них начнется внутренная раздуха, которая облегчит нам нашу победу.»

Обращаясь затем к председательствовавшему на банкете г-ну Б. А. Топазу, капитан К. Инозука продолжал:

«Вы и ваша община всегда были лояльны к нам, всегда сотрудничали с властямы. Вы всегда советовались с нами |3| перед тем, как предпринять те или иные шаги. Так, например, г. Топаз советовался со мной в связы с покупкой зтого вашего клуба, и я сказал ему, что зтот Клуб следует купить, что он отвечает вашим нуждам. Раз власть здесь будет в руках Японии, здесь будет мир и порядок. Мир и порядок в Шанхае хорошо охраняется.» «А теперь,» – продолжал капитан Инозука – «мне хотелось бы дать местному еврейству совет. Шанхай стал в настоящее время центром еврейства Восточной Азии, и он станет центром Нового Порядка Азии и всего мира. Я думаю, большая часть американского еврейства в настоящее время чувствует себя несчастными, и их чувство возмущения будет с каждым днем расти. Мы должны раз'яснить еврейству Америки и еврейству всех стран смысл и значение зтой войны, смысл и задачи Нового Порядка и, когда зтот Новый Порядок будет осуществлен, еврейский народ во всем мире будет жить в мире и спокойствии. Нужно, чтобы еврейство поняло нашу идеологию, идеи наших Императоров о мире и справедливости.»

«Я желаю от всего сердца» – закончил свою речь капитан К. Инозука – «чтобы зтот Клуб стал духовным центром еврейства Шанхая и Восточной Азии, духовным центром всего еврейского мира, идущего по пути Нового Порядка.»

Речь г. Б. А. Топаза

Яркая речь капитана К. Инозука вызвала знтузиазм всех присутствовавших. Отвечая ему, г. Б. А. Топаз выразил ему от имени еврейской общины свою искреннюю благодарность за сказанное им слово, за его постоянно внимательное отношение к нам и нашим нуждам. «Вы слышали» – сказал он – «что нам говорил капитан К. Инозука о наших задачах. Зти задачи и идеи нам понятны и близки. Мы вынесли из глубины Азии идеи справедливости и мира, и идея Нового Порядка, превозглашенная великим народом, находит живой отклик в нашем сознании и душе.»

Г. Б. А. Топаз приветствовал полковника Н. Ясуе от имени нашей общины и всего дальновосточного еврейства. «Полковник Н. Ясуе – наш большой и искренный друг» – сказал он. «Он провел непосильную работу по упорядочению жизни еврейства на Дальнем Востоке, он пожертвовал многим во имя справедливости, и еврейство никогда не забудет его.» Предложив всем налить бокалы, г. Топаз превозгласил тост за здоровье и долголетие полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука, за великую Ниппонскую Империю и за Новый Порядок.

В след за г-ном Б. А. Топаз с речью на русском языке выступил полковник Н. Ясуе. «Капитан К. Инозука» – сказал он – «произнес прекрасную речь. Я – обыкновенный полковник и поэтому мне нельзя молчать, я тоже должен сказать вам несколько слов» – так скромно начал свою речь полковник Н. Ясуе, беспрерывно прерывавшуюся бурными аплодисментами присутствовавших. Ввиду ее исключительного содержания и глубокого интереса мы ниже приводим ее польностю:

Речь полк. Н. Ясуе

«Господа! Нам с вами пришлось встретиться на зтот раз в необычной обстановке. Неожиданно вспыхнула Восточно-Азиатская война. Зта война была вызвана Америкой и Англией, но я более склонен верить, что если действительно существует Бог, то зта война ниспослана Богом. Большими победами в етой войне Япония обязана, поэтому, не только высоким качествам своих военных сил, но и тому, что в данном случае творится Суд Божий.

«Что же заставило меня выбрать для приезда в Шанхай именно зтот момент? Я ничуть не сомневаюсь, что влияние войны коснется и шанхайского еврейства и принесет большие перемены в его судьбе. Что касается меня, то судьбы еврейского народа всегда служили для меня предметом заботы и я никогла не переставал искренне желать евреям всякого счастья. Мне, поэтому, очень хотелось повидаться с руководящими кругами еврейской общественности и выслушать их откровенное мнение по поводу момента.

«Я полагаю, что для Шанхайского еврейства настала необходимость наметить свои будущие пути, исходя не тольо из развертивающихся перед глазами событий, но и предвидя ту обстановку, которая создается в будущем в Восточной Азии. Точно также, как и Япония, еврейство в настоящее время стоит на распутьи, ведущем либо к расцвету, либо к гибели. Зто относится не только к дальневосточному еврейству – в таком же положении находится и еврейство в Англии и Америке. Я думаю, что, в случае поражения Америки и Англии, первым вопросом, который возникнет в зтих странах, будет вопрос об антисемитизме. Дай Бог, чтобы мое предположение не сбылось, но оно вселяет у меня в душе убеждение, что дальневосточному еврейству настоятельно необходимо поскорее освободиться от национальной розни, от зтого пагубного деления на евреев русских, немецких и т. д., необходимо об'единиться в одно целое по признаку принадлежности к еврейскому народу и прокладывать пути к своим новым судьбам.

«Я говорю в данном случае как частное лицо и как старый друг дальневосточного еврейства. Зто позвалнет мне быть совершенно откровенным с вами.

«Как вам, вероятно, уже известно, командующий японскими вооруженными силами в Шанхае обявил, что никто из иностранцев, даже граждане воюющих с нами государств Америки и Англии, не будут подвергаться в Шанхае арестам и будут пользоваться свободой, поскольку они не будут действовать против Японии.

«В Японии лица, содержащиеся под арестом, как агенты враждебных держав, по распоряжению министра иностранных дел, пользуются пищей, жилищем и предметами ежедневного обихода в соответствии с их привычками, обычаями и вкусами, а их жены и дети даже свободны от ареста. И зто делается несмотря на то, что в странах враждебных Японии японские граждане поголовно арестовываются и с ними обращаются как с врагами. Поступать так Японию заставляет дух рыцарства, дух бусндоо [!]. И я твердо верю, нисколько не сомневаюсь, что в отношении евреев, из-за того только, что они евреи, не будут применяться меры давления, если только евреи проявят себя лоялными к Японии и не будут действовать ей во вред. Если же Япония почему либо вынуждена будет применять в отношении евреев меры давления, то зто будет значить, что такие меры были вызваны самими же евреями.

«На подобные меры Япония идет только в крайнем случае, как зто было теперь с Америкой и Англией. Вы самы, господа, знаете, что во время переговоров Японии с Америкой, длившихся восемь месяцев, Рузвельт, несмотря на сделанные Японией большие уступки, до самого последного момента преявлял к Японии невыполнимые требования

в роде немедленного вывода японских войск из всех пунктов Китая и тому подобное, а, тем временем, Ямерика [!] и Англия усиляли зкономическую блокаду Японии, поспешно укрепляли свои вооруженные силы на Дальнем Востоке, угражая Японии, а Англия даже заключила с Чжан-Кай-Шеком секретный договор, по которому все природные богатства Китая отходили к Англии. Но чрезмерная жадность бывает наказуема: жадный лишается и того, что имел раньше. Действия Америки и Англии вынудили, наконец, миролюбивый японский народ ответить на их грубый натиск об'явлением войны. О причинах, побудивших Японию на зтот шаг, ясно говорится в Высочайшем Манифесте по поводу об'явления войны и в декларации премьер-министра Японии.

«Я питаю надежду, что еврейская общественность с пониманием отнесется к нетинным побуждениям, двигавшим Японией, проявит свою солидарность и позволит Японию причислить еврейство к своим друзьям. Я считаю возможным выразить зту надежду как частное лицо и как давнишний друг евреев, всегда с участием относившийся к еврейскому вопросу на Дальнем Востоке.

«Прошу извинения, если в моих откровенных словах прозвучало что либо неприятное для вас.»

Речь г. М. С. Блоха

Когда знтузиазм, вызванный речью полковника Н. Ясуе, несколько улегся, с коротким приветствием выступил г. М. С. Блох. «Господин полковник» – сказал он – «я не хочу затруднять ваше [!] внимание длинной речью. Я хочу только подчеркнуть, что Ваше присутствие несомненно сыграет большую роль в нашей жизни, окажет глубочайшее влияние на нашу психику. Мы все рады вам [!], мы все знаем и исренне благодарны Вам за Ваши труды, и я прошу Вас передать Вашим друзьям, что Дальневосточное еврейство всегда готово итти по Вашему пути и всегда будет с Вами всем сердцем и душой.»

Речь г. Д. Б. Рабиновича

Вслед за зтим г. Б. А. Топаз предоставил слово редактору «Нашей Жизни» [!] г. Д. Рабиновичу.

«Нам выпала сегодя большвя честь» – сказал г. Д. Рабинович – «видеть среди нас высоких наших гостей. Мы приветствуем их как представителей великой империи, мы приветсвуем их как друзей нашего народа, мы приветствуем их как наших личных друзей. Кто из нас, евреев Шанхая и Восточной Азии, не знает имен полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука? За наше двухтысячелетнее странствование, за двутысячелетний период преследования нас мы не научились ненавидеть, мы быстро забываем причиненные нам муки и обиды, но

зато мы на [!] забываем наших друзей. Евреи всего мира помнят инена [!] наших друзей, оказавших нам ту или иную помощь в тяжелые периоды нашей жизни, и имена полковника Н. Ясуе и капитана К. Инозука будут золотыми буквами вписаны в анналы нашей истории.»

|5| «Капитан К. Инозука и полковник Н. Ясуе» – продолжал далее г. Рабинович – «являются историковедами. Они изучают древнюю историю Японии и нашего народа и, на основании своих тщательных изисканий, приходят к выводу о какой то связи между этими народами в сумерках истории.» – «Я не историк, не археолог, не филолог» – указал г. Рабинович – «но, тем не менее, я знаю, что между этими народами есть какие то общие психологические черты. Мы все знаем, как глубоко патриотичен японский народ, мы все знаем, что каждый из них готов отдать свою жизнь за Императора и свою страну, но и мы глубоко проникнуты чувством привязанности к родине, и мы за двухтысячелетний период нашего изгнания, нашей оторваности от земли, не забыли своей родины и стремимся к ее возрождению. Пожелаем же, чтобы великий японский народ и наш народ осуществили высокие илеалы государственности и справедливости.»

Речь г. Рабиновича произвела весьма сильное впечатление, и капитан К. Инозука, обратившись к нему, просил его передать всем присутствовавшим содержание его интервью, помещеннего в журнале «Наша Жизнь», в котором он сообщал о результатах своих исторических исследований. Г. Рабинович ознакомил присутствовавших с этим чрезвычайно интересным интервью и указал при этом, что капитана К. Инозука можно часто видеть изучающим библию и что в его апартаментах висит портрет д-ра Теодора Герцля. Это замечание вызвало новый изрыв аплодисментов всех присутствовавших.

Речь г. Б. Копелиовича

После некоторого перерыва с краткой речью выступил г. Б. Копелиович, бывший делегатом Шанхая на с'езде Дальневосточного еврейства в Харбине.

Г. Копелиович обратил внимание присутствовавших на то, что этот банкет совпал с последним днем Ханнука. «В этот день мы зажигаем свечи в память о чуде – победы Маккавеев. Но не чудо ли то, что вот сейчас мы сидим с представителями великой империи, борющейся за новый порядок, идеалы справедливости, это должно укрепить нашу веру в конечное торжество гуманности и справедливости.»

Речь г. Бирбраера

По просьбе присутсвовавших представителей Дайренской Общины с кратким словом выступил г. Бирбраер. «Все, что мы ни будем говорить о полковнике Н. Ясуе» – сказал он – «не сможет выразить того, что

мы чувствуем по отношению к нему, какой он друг для нас, как много он значит для всех нас. Я хочу верить, что мы будем чаще встречаться с ним, я хочу верить, что японские власти убедятся в искренней нашей лояльности. Пожелаем же ему долголетия для того, чтобы он продалжал свою полезную деятельность в пользу своего народа и справедливости.»

В последующей после речей беседе полк. Н. Ясуе собщил между прочим, что д-р А. Кауфман намеревался приехать в Шанхай, но по ряду причин задержался с от'ездом. Полк. Н. Ясуе выразил надежду, что в скором времени он сможет приехать в Шанхай вместе с д-ром А. Кауфманом на более длительный период времени.

Translation

Banquet in Honor of Colonel N. Yasue[45] and Captain K. Inuzuka[46] in the Shanghai Jewish Club

On Sunday, 21st this month, a big banquet was organized in the Shanghai Jewish Club in honor of Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka. Mr. Fujihita, the colonel's secretary was also present at the banquet. More than 25 guests – representatives of local Jewish community organizations and Dairen Jewish community participated in the banquet.

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45 Yasue Norihiro (1888–1950) was a Russian language specialist who became interested in "the Jewish Question." His translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into Japanese was published under a pseudonym in 1924; its first Japanese translation appeared as early as 1921, with later translations released in 1931 (by Kubota Eikichi) and 1941 (by Shiōden Nobutaka). Yasue and Inuzuka, who authored several tracts on Jews based on the *Protocols*, were considered experts on Jewish affairs by the Japanese authorities; cf. David G. Goodman, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion in Japan, in: Esther Webman (ed.), The Global Impact of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. A Century-Old Myth, Abingdon 2011, 161–174, here 162; Ben-Ami Shillony, The Jews and the Japanese. The Successful Outsiders, Rutland Vt./Tokyo 1991, 168 f.; Tokayer/Swartz, The Fugu Plan, 48–51, 142.

46 The Russian original reads "Inozuka." The speeches presented at the banquet shortly after the Japanese conquest of all of Shanghai by both the leaders of the Russian Jewish community and the Japanese authorities are extremely significant. They foreshadow the role Russian Jews were to play in Jewish life in Shanghai, and indicate in no uncertain terms the Japanese demand for absolute loyalty from the Jews.

Captain Inuzuka's speech

During the banquet Captain Inuzuka expressed his wish to say a few words about the current situation. Said he: "I arrived here three years ago. Big changes have since taken place in Shanghai, the whole political situation has changed radically. You all know well that Japan did not want the war, all our emperors throughout our history aspired to peace and justice. We have strived for peace in the Pacific as well. In order to eliminate the threat of the war, to prevent the destruction of civilization and meaningless loss of lives, Japan sent special delegates to the US. The US, however, misinterpreted our intentions – they thought that we were seeking peace because of our weakness. However, they were deeply wrong. Japan has always aspired to peace and never resorted to force without being forced to do so. America did not understand or did not want to understand this. It did not listen to our delegates. This is very sad, but as Japan decided to enter the war, it will not lay down the arms till the final victory. Our aims and tasks are clear, but the American people do not know why its government has dragged it into the war, there will be internal devastation which will make our victory easier."

Addressing the chairman of the meeting, Mr. B. A. Topaz, Captain Inuzuka continued: "You and your community have always been loyal to us, and have always cooperated with the authorities. You have always consulted us |3| before making any steps. Thus, for example, Mr. Topaz consulted me in connection to purchasing this club of yours, and I told him that you should buy this club, that it meets your needs. As the power here will be in the hands of the Japanese, there will always be peace and order here. Peace and order in Shanghai are very well guarded. And now, continued Captain Inuzuka, I would like to give an advice to the local Jewish community. Shanghai has recently become a center of Eastern Asian Jews, and it will become the center of the New Order in Asia and in the whole world. I think that the majority of the American Jews feel miserable these days, and their feeling of indignation will grow every day. We are to explain to the American Jewry and to the Jews of the whole world the meaning of this war, the meaning, and the tasks of the New Order, and when this New Order has been established, the Jewish people all over the world will live in peace and quiet. Jews should understand our ideology, the ideas of our emperors on peace and justice."

"I wholeheartedly wish," Captain Inuzuka finished, "that this center becomes a spiritual center of Shanghai and Eastern Asian Jewry, a spiritual center of all the Jewish world following the path of the New Order."

Mr. B. A. Topaz's speech

The illuminating speech of Captain Inuzuka aroused the enthusiasm of the entire audience. In his answer, Mr. B. A. Topaz on behalf of the Jewish

community expressed his genuine gratitude for the captain's speech, for his constantly attentive attitude to us and our needs. "You all heard," said he, "Captain Inuzuka's words about our tasks. These tasks and ideas are clear and close to us. We have brought from the depth of Asia the ideas of justice and peace, and the idea of the New Order proclaimed by a great people, evokes a keen response in our minds and hearts."

Mr. B. A. Topaz greeted Colonel N. Yasue on behalf of our community and all Far Eastern Jewry. "Colonel N. Yasue – our big and honest friend," said he. "He has carried out a big work which is beyond one's strength, for bringing order in the life of the Jews in the Far East. He sacrificed a lot for the sake of justice, and the Jews will never forget him." Suggesting that everyone fill their glasses, Mr. Topaz proposed a toast to health and long life for Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka, to the great Nippon Empire and the New Order.

After Mr. B. A. Topaz, Colonel N. Yasue took the floor and delivered a speech in Russian. "Captain Inuzuka," said he, "made a wonderful speech. I am an ordinary colonel, and therefore I cannot keep silence. I also must tell you a few words" – with these modest words Colonel n. Yasue began his speech, continuously interrupted by storms of applause. Due to the exceptional content and deep interest of this speech we are quoting it here in full:

Colonel N. Yasue's speech:

"Gentlemen! This time we meet under unusual circumstances. The East Asian war has unexpectedly broken out. This war was caused by England and America, but I am more inclined to believe that if God exists, this war was sent by God. Therefore Japan owes its big victories in the war not only to the high standard of its Army, but also to the fact that God's Judgment is being made here.

What made me choose this particular moment for visiting Shanghai? I do not doubt at all that the war's influence will bear also on the Shanghai Jewry, and will bring considerable changes in its wake. As for me, the fate of the Jewish people has always been an object of my concern, and I have never ceased to honestly wish the Jews every possible happiness. Therefore I wanted to meet the leadership of the Jewish community and hear their frank opinion about the current situation.

I believe that it is necessary for Shanghai Jewry to outline its future path, based not only on current events, but in anticipation of the situation which will be in the future in East Asia. Like Japan, Jewry today is at the crossroads leading either to a flourishing future, or to death. This is true not only for Far Eastern Jewry, the Jews in England and America are in the same situation now. I think that if England and America are defeated, the first issue to

emerge afterwards will be that of anti-Semitism. May my suspicion not come true, but it creates a conviction in my soul that Far Eastern Jewry should rid itself of national discord, of this baneful division into Russian, German, and other Jews, and immediately unite into one whole based on the identity with the Jewish people, paving the way to their new destiny.

I speak now as a private person, and as an old friend of Far Eastern Jews. As such, I can be perfectly frank with you.

As you probably already know, the Chief of Staff of the Japanese Armed Forces in Shanghai declared that no foreigners, including citizens of England and America who are at war with us, will be arrested in Shanghai, and they will enjoy freedom as long as they refrain from hostile actions against Japan.

According to the instruction of the Japanese Foreign Minister, people in Japan who are under arrest as agents of hostile countries have food, rooms, and utensils according to their everyday habits, customs and tastes, and their wives and children are not under arrest. This is so despite that fact that in countries hostile to Japan Japanese citizens are being arrested and treated as enemies. Japan acts in this manner because it is compelled by its knightly spirit, the spirit of bushido.[47] And I firmly believe and do not doubt that Jews will not be persecuted just for being Jewish, if they display their loyalty to Japan and do not act to the detriment of Japan. If Japan for some reason will have to resort to repressive measures against the Jews, it will mean that these measures were caused by Jews themselves.

Japan has recourse to such measures only in extreme situations, as was now the case with England and America. You, gentlemen, know yourselves that during Japanese-American negotiations that went on for eight months, Roosevelt, despite big concessions made by Japan, made impossible demands on Japan till the last moment, like the demand for immediate withdrawal of the Japanese army from all places in China, etc. America and England at the same time were tightening their economic blockade of Japan, strengthening their armed forces in the Far East threatening Japan, and England even made a secret agreement with Chiang Kai-shek according to which all natural treasures of China were to pass to England. Excessive greediness is often punished: a greedy person may lose even what he had in his possession before. Actions of England and America have finally forced the peaceable Japanese people to answer the attack by declaring war. The reasons which led Japan to do so are clearly described in the Imperial Manifesto on the declaration of war, and in the Japanese Prime Minister's declaration.

I cherish the hope that the Jewish community will treat with understanding the reasons which moved Japan, will display solidarity and allow Japan to

47 A feudal-military Japanese code of behavior valuing honor above life.

list the Jewish people among its friends. I consider it possible to express such hope as a private person, and as an old friend of the Jews who always took great interest in the Jewish question in the Far East.

I beg your pardon if you heard in my frank words something unpleasant for you. I will be happy if what I have told you turns out to be of use to you."

Speech of Mr. M. S. Bloch[48]

When the enthusiasm aroused by the speech of Colonel N. Yasue calmed down, Mr. M. S. Bloch addressed the audience with a short greeting. "Mr. Colonel," said he, "I do not wish to burden your attention with a long speech. I only want to underline, that your presence will undoubtedly play an important role in our lives and will have the deepest influence on us. We are all glad to see you, we all know and are genuinely grateful to you for your concern, and I am asking you to tell your friends that Far Eastern Jewry is always ready to follow your path, and will always be with your heart and soul."

Speech of Mr. D. B. Rabinovitch

Then Mr. Topaz gave the floor to the editor of *Nasha zhizn*, Mr. D. Rabinovitch.

"We have a great honor today," said D. Rabinovitch, "to see here with us our important guests. We are greeting them as representatives of a great empire, we are greeting them as friends of our people, we are greeting them also as our personal friends. Who of us, Jews of Shanghai and Eastern Asia, does not know the names of Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka? During two thousand years of our wanderings, two thousand years of persecution we have not learned how to hate, we quickly forget torment and insults, but we do not forget our friends. Jews in the whole world remember the names of our friends, who helped us in one way or another in hard periods of our lives, and the names of Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka will be engraved in gold in the annals of our history. |5| Colonel N. Yasue and Captain K. Inuzuka are historians. They are studying the ancient history of Japan and of our people, and on the basis of the most careful studies arrive at a conclusion on a certain connection between these two peoples which existed in the twilight of history. I am not a historian, not an archaeologist, not a philologist," pointed out Mr. Rabinovitch, "but nevertheless, I know that these two peoples have some psychological features in common. We all know how patriotic

48 Morris S. Bloch came from Poland to Asia before World War II. He owned a lumber manufacturing company in Kobe in the early 1920s. It is not clear when he came to Shanghai; however, he was the first chairman of the Shanghai Jewish Club; cf. Ristaino, Port, 67. Bloch also acted as president of the SAJCA.

is the Japanese people, we all know that every Japanese is ready to give his life for the Emperor and his country, but we too are filled with the feeling of affection for our motherland, and during this two thousand year period of exile and separation from our land we have not forgotten our motherland, and we are aspiring to its rebirth. Let us wish the great Japanese people and our people the realization of their high ideals of statehood and justice."

Mr. Rabinovitch's speech made a powerful impression, and Captain Inuzuka asked him to pass to the audience the contents of his interview published in *Nasha zhizn*, in which he reported the results of his historic research. Mr. Rabinovitch informed the audience of the contents of this extremely interesting interview, and remarked that it was often possible to see Captain Inuzuka reading the Bible, and that a portrait of Theodor Herzl is hanging in the captain's apartment. This remark caused a new burst of applause.

The speech of Mr. B. Kopeliovich

After a short interval, Mr. B. Kopeliovich, former delegate of Shanghai at the Congress of Far Eastern Jewry in Harbin,[49] made a brief speech. Mr. Kopeliovich directed the attention of the audience to the fact that this banquet coincided with the last day of Hanukkah.[50] "On this day we light candles in the memory of the miracle – the victory of the Maccabees. But is it not a miracle that we are sitting now with the representatives of the great empire fighting for the establishment of the new order, the ideals of justice, and this should strengthen our belief in the final victory of humanism and justice."

The speech of Mr. Beerbrayer

On the request of the representatives of the Dairen community, Mr. Beerbrayer gave a short speech. "Whatever we say about Colonel N. Yasue it will fail to express what we feel towards him, what a big friend of ours he is, how much he means to all of us. I want to believe that we will meet him more often. I want to believe that the Japanese authorities will become convinced of our genuine loyalty. Let us wish him long life to continue his useful activity for the benefit of his people and justice."

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49 This was the Conference of Jewish Communities in the Far East. Three of them were held in Harbin from 1937 to 1939. They were organized by the Far Eastern Jewish Council, established in Harbin in 1937, and were chaired by Abraham Kaufman (see below, n. 51).

50 The Hanukkah holiday usually occurs in December and lasts for eight days.

In a conversation that followed the speeches Colonel Yasue said, among other things, that Dr. A. Kaufman[51] intended to come to Shanghai, but was delayed due to a number of reasons. Colonel Yasue expressed the hope that in the near future he will be able to come to Shanghai together with Mr. Kaufman for a longer stay.

Document 97

Anonymous
February 26, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 95, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

The Proclamation

On February 18th the Commanders-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Navy and Army in the Shanghai Area issued a joint Proclamation concerning restriction of residence and business of stateless refugees who have arrived in Shanghai since 1937. This proclamation, which will become effective on May 18th, affects many thousands of Jewish refugees from Europe who reside and have businesses in French Concession and Settlement and who will have to move within three months into the designated area in the northern district.

We are publishing below the official text of the Proclamation and the map showing the restricted sector in the northern part of the city where stateless refugees will be segregated as from May 18, 1943. The border is indicated by the shaded line running through the centre.

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51 Abraham Kaufman (1885–1971) was born in Russia and studied medicine in Switzerland. From 1912 on he lived in Harbin where he became head of the Jewish community (1919–1931; 1933–1945). From 1937 on he was chairman of the National Council of the Jews of Eastern Asia (Far East). He was also active in several other Jewish organizations. After the war he was imprisoned in a Soviet labor camp for 11 years. In 1961 he immigrated to Israel; cf. Takao Chizuko, Prewar Japan's Perception of Jews and the Harbin Jewish Community. The Harbin Jewish Community under Japanese Rule 1932–1941, in: Cismor. Journal of the Interdiciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions 10 (2014), 32–49, <http://www.cismor.jp/uploads-images/sites/3/2015/05/617667a09722574c04d7108677837c1d.pdf> (November 22, 2016).

Proclamation Concerning Restriction of Residence
and Business of Stateless Refugees

1. Due to military necessity places of residence and business of the stateless refugees in the Shanghai area shall hereafter be restricted to the undermentioned area in the International Settlement:

East of the line connecting Chaoufoong Road, Muirhead Road and Dent Road;

West of Yangtzepoo [sic] Creek;

North of the line connecting East Seward Road, Muirhead Road and Wayside Road;

and South of the boundary of the International settlement.

2. The stateless refugees at present residing and/or carrying on business in the districts other than the above area shall remove their places of residence and or business into the areas designated above by May 18, 1943.

Permission must be obtained from the Japanese authorities for the transfer, sale, purchase or lease of the rooms, houses, shops or any other establishments, which are situated outside the designated area and now being occupied or used by stateless refugees.

3. Persons other than the stateless refugees shall not remove [sic] into the area mentioned in Article 1 without permission of the Japanese authorities.

3. [sic] Persons who will have violated this Proclamation or obstructed its enforcement shall be liable to severe punishment.

Commanders-in-Chief of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai Area.
February 18, 1943.

Document 98

Martin Fischer[52] *(German Consulate, Shanghai) to German Foreign Office*
February 20, 1943
Typewritten cable; 1 page; the page is a transcript of a cable that was originally encrypted; on the bottom left is a registry stamp ("Verteiler Nr. 4"), dispatching the cable to other sections of the Foreign Ministry. The page has several underlines by hand.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/13A

52 About Fischer, see ch. 1, n. 40.

Telegramm
(Geh. Ch. V.)[53]

Shanghai,	den 20. Februar 1943	4.10 S
Ankunft:	" 20. " "	12.10 Uhr

Nr. 195 vom 19.2.

Unter Bezugnahme auf DNB[54] Telegramm Nr. 249 und Nachrichten für Aussenhandel Shanghai vom 18. Februar.

Unerwartete japanische Massnahme erstreckt sich auf alle seit 1937 eingewanderten Juden und betrifft rund 16 000 Personen. Dagegen bleiben etwa 8000 staatenlose Juden aus Sowjetunion von Umsiedlung unberührt. Grund Massnahme nicht nur wie angegeben militärische Notwendigkeit, sondern neben allgemeiner Bekämpfung ausländischen Einflusses Absicht, Juden, denen immer stärkere Durchdringung hiesigen Wirtschaftsleben gelungen war, zum Verkauf ihrer Geschäfte an Japaner oder Chinesen zu veranlassen. Massnahme ist hiesiger erster japanischer Schritt gegen die Juden. Erfolg noch nicht abzusehen.
Fischer

Document 99

Anonymous
March 12, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 93, 3.
Russian; translation by Yuri Pines
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Состав Ашкен. Комитета Содействия Бесподанным Беженцам

Шанх.-Ашкеназ. Комитет Содействия Бесподанным Беженцам (Шанхай Ашкенази Коллаборэйши Рэлиф Ассоцивши, сокращенно

53 Geheimes Chiffrier-Verfahren.

54 Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro. Formally an independent, private news agency, it was part of the media office of the German Reich government (section IV of the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda).

«САКРА») в настоящее время сорганизировался и состои [!] из следующих лиц:

ПРЕЗИДИУМ: Г-н М. Кано – Почетный Советник, Д-р А. И. Кон – поч. председатель, Б. Л. Радомышельский – заместитель председателя, Я. Бент и Г. Шифрин – вице-председатели, Т. Немченко – поч. казначей, М. Н. Капцан и Б. Лангодский – поч. секретари.

ФИНАНСОВАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Г. Шифрин – председатель, И. Биткер – вице-председатель, С. Либерман – секретарь, А. Бент, И. Каган, Л. Роговин, П. Цукерман, Г. Клебанов, С. Тукачинский и А. Оппенгейм.

КВАРТИРНАЯ и [!] СТРОИТЕЛЬНАЯ КОМИССИЯ: И. Левитин, Г. Шифрин и Г. Клебанов.

КОМИССИЯ ПО ЗАЯВЛЕНИЯМ: Т. Немченко и Л. Роговин.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Б. Л. Радомышельский.

КОМИССИЯ ПРЕССЫ: Д. Рабинович и С. Либерман.

ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: И. Каган, А. Бент и П. Цукерман.

Наряду с этим, беженские группировки выделили своих представителей во все вышеименованные комиссии:

КВАРТИРНАЯ и [!] СТРОИТЕЛЬНАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Д-р Бергласс, Д-р Вахнер [!], Д-р Зильберштейн, Д-р Маркузе, Д-р Кракаусер [!] и Рабби Эпштейн.

КОМИССИЯ ПО ЗАЯВЛЕНИЯМ: Д-р Зильберштейн, Пульвермахер, Д-р Кардег, Г. Вольф, О. Левин, Маргулис и Махлис.

ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Г. Рейнер, Парнес, Пульвермахер, Т. Розенцвейг [!], Е. Штарер и д-р Дриллер.

ЮРИДИЧЕСКАЯ КОМИССИЯ: Д-р Кардег, Д-р Редлих, Маргулис.

КОМИССИЯ ПРЕССЫ: О. Левин и Шайнигер.

Беженсие группировки избрали свой президиум, который вместе с «САКРА» образует «Об'единенный Административный Комитет» (Джоинт Администрэйтиф Комити). В этот президиум входят следующие лица: Д-р Бергласс – председатель, Д-р Кардег – вице-председатель, Д-р Зильберштейн – поч. казначей, Г. Рейнер – поч. секретарь.

Руководителями беженских комиссий являются следующие лица: Квартирной и Строительной – Д-р Бергласс, Вакснер и Эпштейн; Комиссии по Заявлениям: – д-р Зильберштейн, Пульвермахер и Марголис; Экономической – Рейнер и Парнес; Юридической – д-р Кардег и Комиссии прессы – О. Левин.

Translation

The Composition of Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association

The Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association ("SACRA") has been by now completely formed. It consists of the following persons:[55]

PRESIDIUM: Mr. M. Kano[56] – honorary advisor; Dr. A. J. Cohn – hon. chairman; B. L. Radomishelsky – deputy chairman; Y. Bent and G. Schifrin – vice-chairmen; T. Nemchenko – hon. treasurer; M. E. Kaptzan and B. Langodsky – hon. secretaries.

FINANCIAL COMMISSION: G. Schifrin – chairman; J. Bitker – vice-chairman; S. Liberman[57] – secretary; A. [sic] Bent, I. Kagan, L. Rogovin, P. Zuckerman, G. Klebanov,[58] S. Tukaczinsky,[59] and A. Oppenheim.

HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION: I. Levitin, G. Schifrin, and G. Klebanov.

COMMISSION FOR APPEALS AND REQUESTS: T. Nemchenko and L. Rogovin.

JURIDICAL COMMISSION: B. L. Radomishelsky.

PRESS COMMISSION: D. Rabinovitch and S. Liberman.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION: I. Kagan, A. Bent, and P. Zuckerman.

In addition, groups of refugees have sent their representatives to all these commissions:

HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION: Dr. Berglas, Dr. Wachner,[60] Dr. Silberstein, Dr. Marcuse, Dr. Krakauser [sic] and Rabbi Epstein.[61]

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55 SACRA was largely composed of Russian Jewish community leaders. Unfortunately biographical information about some of its members is not available.

56 Kano was the Japanese adviser and assistant to A. J. Cohn. He later served as General Secretary of SACRA and supervisor of the construction department at the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

57 Sema (Semyon) Liberman (1893–?) came from Sevastopol to Harbin in 1916; in 1932 he and his family settled in Shanghai. His son wrote a memoir about his years in Shanghai; cf. Liberman, My China, 17.

58 Grisha Klebanoff came from Harbin to Shanghai in the 1920s, where he opened The Siberian Fur Company. After the war, he immigrated to the United States; cf. <http://www.shanghaijewishmemorial.com/80.htm> (October 18, 2016).

59 According to Lewin, Almanac, 54, S. Tukashinsky [sic] was honorary treasurer of the SAJCA.

60 Obviously a mistake, should read Wachsner.

61 Rabbi J. D. Epstein, secretary of the head of the Mir Yeshivah.

COMMISSION FOR APPEALS AND REQUESTS: Dr. Silberstein, Pulvermacher, Dr. Kardegg, G. Wolf, S. Levin, Margulis, and Machlis.
ECONOMIC COMMISSION: H. Reiner, Parnes,[62] Pulvermacher, T. Rosensweig [sic], E. Starer, and Dr. Driller.
JURIDICAL COMMISSION: Dr. Kardegg, Dr. Redlich, Margulis.
PRESS COMMISSION: O. Lewin and Scheiniger.

The refugee groups elected their own Presidium which forms, together with SACRA a Joint Administrative Committee consisting of: Dr. Berglas – chairman, Dr. Kardegg – vice-chairman, Dr. Silberstein – hon. treasurer, H. Reiner – hon. secretary.

The refugee commissions are headed by the following persons: Housing and Construction – Dr. Berglas, Wachsner, and Epstein; Commission for Requests – Dr. Silberstein, Pulvermacher, and Margolis [sic]; Economic – Reiner and Parnes; Juridical – Dr. Kardegg; Press – O. Lewin.

Document 100

David Rabinovitch[63]
March 26, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 99, 1.
Russian; translation by Yuri Pines
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

С.А.К.Р.А.

Прокламация военных и морских властей от 18 Февраля, вводящяя ограниченный район жительства для безподданных беженцев, затрагивает большую массу еврейских беженцев и тем самым налагает большую и серьезную моральную ответственность на всю местную еврейскую колонию, в задачи которой должно, естественно, войти содействие к найболее гладкому, спокойному и безболезненному осуществлению этого мероприятия. Эту ответсвенность, мы рады отметить, наша еврейская община поняла и приняла на себя, и созданные ею организации САКРА (Комитет Содействия Безподданным Беженцам)

62 The lawyer Dr. Paul Parnes (1897–?) hailed from Vienna. He was also chairman of the Zionist Organization of Shanghai.
63 About Rabinovitch, see ch. 4, n. 13.

и Об'единенный Административный Комитет практически осуществляют шаги и мероприятия, логически вытекающие из этого сознания нашей ответственности. Достаточно зайти в канцелярию этих обех организаций на Пекин Род, чтобы убедиться в этом. Ведется большая работа, реальная, практическая. Результаты ее пока еще не всем видавы и не могут так скоро сказаться, но, отдавая этому делу свое время, энергию, нервы и труд, руководители и сотрудники САКРА не сомневаются в том, что намеченные ими вехи деятельности приведут к реальным результатам, конечно при условии общей поддержки со стороны всей местной еврейской колонии.

Эта общая поддержка со стороны всей местной еврейской колонии абсолютно необходима. Необходима не тоько моральная поддержка для того, чтобы люди, добровольно взявшие на себя такие огромнные задачи, чувствовали бы, что они опираются на общественное мнение, общее единодушие, необходима также помощь активная, вытекающая из сознания, что не только руководители САКРА, но и каждый из нас в отдельности и одинаковой мере ответственны за осуществление задач этой организации. Было бы абсолютно неправильно предпологать, что мы, стоящие в стороне от работы САКРА, можем оставаться в положении сторонных наблюдателей и критиков. Ответственность, налагаемая на нас Прокламацией от 18 Февраля, в равной мере ложится на всех нас. Положение, когда мы могли позволить себе роскошь оставаться инертными и, усмехаясь про себя, смотреть со стороны на «чудаков» – наших общественных работников – все время волнущихся и суетящихся из-за «общественных» вопросов – такое положение в настоящее время невозможно. Хотим мы или нет, мы все призваны к ответственности и чем скорее мы все это осознаем, тем лучше будет для всех нас.

Огромная работа, которую должна осуществить САКРА, не может, конечно, пройти без ошибок и шероховатостей. Ляпсусы, ошибки неизбежны – не делает ошибок тот, кто ничего не делает. Но если бы даже такие ошибки и были донущены, нельзя относиться к ним со злостной усмешкой и злопыхательством, нельзя, основываясь на наших ошибках, снижать значение этой организации и ее работы. Дюди, стоящие во главе САКРА, несомненно внимательно отнесутся ко всякой конструктивной критике, которая имеет своей целью улучшить и развить ее деятельность, но не может быть и не должно быть допущено попыток препятсвия к выполнению огромных общественных заданий, поставленных жизнью перед всем местным еврейством. Разместить, создать соответствующие жилищные условия для тысяч людей, дать им возможность стать на ноги – это такая великая цель, что для осуществления ее мы все должны позабыть о наших личных интересах. Время и

обстоятельства требуют от нас единодушия и жертвенности – будемте же все на высоте этих требований, подымаемся выше наших мелких личных забот, выйдем из пределов нашего узкого обывател'ского кругозора.
Д. Р.

Translation

SACRA

The Proclamation of the military and naval authorities of February 18th introducing a restricted area of residence for stateless refugees affects a large mass of Jewish refugees thus imposing a serious moral responsibility on the whole local Jewish colony, whose task should naturally consist in ensuring as painless and smooth realization of this measure as possible. We are pleased to note that our community has understood and accepted this responsibility, and the organizations created by the community for this purpose (SACRA and Joint Administrative Committee) are implementing in practice the steps which follow logically from understanding this responsibility. It is enough to enter the office of both organizations at Peking Road to be convinced of that. The important practical work is in full swing. The results are not yet felt by everybody and cannot come so quickly, but SACRA leaders and employees feel confident that their energy, nerves and hard work given to this cause will bring concrete results, granted naturally the support of the whole local Jewish colony.

This support on the part of the Jewish colony is absolutely indispensable. We need not only moral support to make people who took upon themselves such important tasks feel that they are supported by public opinion, we need also active help based on the understanding that not SACRA leaders only, but all of us are equally responsible for the fulfilling of the task of this organization. It would be absolutely incorrect to assume that standing apart from SACRA work, we can remain detached on-lookers and critics only. The responsibility imposed by the Proclamation of February 18th rests equally on all of us. The situation when we could afford remaining inert and take a detached view, smiling to ourselves, at the activity of our "eccentrics," the public activists, who were always worrying about "public" matters, is now impossible. Whether we want it or not, we all now shoulder a responsibility, and the sooner we realize it, the better.

The tremendous work to be done by SACRA cannot naturally be fulfilled without mistakes and blunders. Roughness and mistakes are unavoidable –

only those do not err who do not do anything. But even when such mistakes happen, we should not treat them with spiteful grins and malignant looks, and underrate the importance of this organization and its work on the basis of these mistakes. The SACRA leaders will undoubtedly pay attention to constructive criticism which aims at the improvement and development of the organization's activity, but there should be no attempts at placing obstacles to the fulfilment of tremendous public tasks life has given to all of local Jewry. To find accommodations and provide normal conditions for thousands of people, to let them stand on their feet is such a great goal that to achieve it we all should forget our private interests. The time and circumstances demand from us unanimity and sacrifice – let us all be above these requirements, let us rise above petty individual problems and step outside the limits of our narrow Philistine views.
D. R.

Document 101

Anonymous (SACRA)[64]
April 1, 1943
Typewritten minutes, 2 pages.
Microfilm; YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 13

Shanghai, April 1, 1943

MINUTES NO. 7
EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF S.A.C.R.A. COMMITTEE

Present: All members of the Committee, except Mr. Rogovin.
Chairman: Dr. Cohn. Secretaries: Langotsky, Kaptzan.

Opening the meeting Dr. Cohn advised that this extraordinary meeting was called on the initiative of Messrs. Kubota and Kano, to once again explain to the Committee of S.A.C.R.A. the situation resulting from the Proclamation of February 18th 1943, especially the fact that not much time is left before the transfer of Stateless Refugees to the designated area must be completed. The Committee must understand that they are not to expect any post-

64 For SACRA, see the General Introduction, n. 9.

ponement after May 18th, therefore they must complete their work in one and a half months. They must work with increased energy – up to date much work has been done but this work must be systematised and put in order to move on with the work of building, renovating and exchanging. Further, the aims and problems of S.A.C.R.A. were pointed out, as well as the rights given to S.A.C.R.A. by the Authorities, which proves that S.A.C.R.A. must not only work itself but make others who can be useful work too.

Dr. Cohn then informed that the Authorities have long been dissatisfied with the work of the Juedische Gemeinde, and in spite of all warnings work had not gone on as desired. Therefore today the Authorities have given the order to dismiss the Committee of the Juedische Gemeinde and S.A.C.R.A. was requested to found a new Committee of workers from the German colony, approved by S.A.C.R.A., and to have one member from the S.A.C.R.A. Committee as supervisor.

Dr. Cohn suggested enlarging the Presidium of the S.A.C.R.A., taking in several members of the Committee, so that the enlarged Presidium could independently decide and enforce important immediate questions, followed by the automatic agreement of the Committee.

Mr. Kano then spoke in his name and the name of Mr. Kubota, explaining their point of view in detail concerning S.A.C.R.A., explaining the aims and problems of S.A.C.R.A. and once again calling for more energetic work in connection with the Proclamation of February 18th.

Mr. Kano went on to say that Mr. Kubota agreed, in order to speed up the transfer, to allow building by private parties, under the supervision of S.A.C.R.A. All private parties or groups must acquire their building material in the open market and S.A.C.R.A. may help in acquiring the necessary permits, passes, etc. For buildings put up by S.A.C.R.A. the Committee may depend on receiving all necessary building materials from the stock of the Japanese Military Authorities and at privileged prices. Mr. Kubota will give his aid in every way for securing building material in this manner.

Mr. Kano next suggested to settle the work of exchanging houses and rooms occupied in Hongkew by tenants of Japanese nationality and others, with houses and rooms in other sectors of the city. For this it is necessary to appoint several persons who could place a valuation on apartments, furniture, etc. In this connection the decision of S.A.C.R.A., with Mr. Kubota's approval, will be final.

|2| If in the next three or four weeks the Committee shall see that all that has been done for providing living quarters for the Stateless Refugees does not solve the problem in full, it will be necessary to immediately begin building barracks, so that the transfer will be completed by May 18th, later continuing the work of improving living conditions.

Mr. Kubota gives his assurance that he will take all measures that members of the Committee will get maximum support from the Authorities, for which he gives his personal guarantee for the Committee as a whole and each member separately. Each member shall receive a special certificate which will protect him from interference in his work and Mr. Kubota has agreed with the Authorities on uninterrupted work for the Committee. In connection with this it is desirable that each member of the Committee give Dr. Cohn his brief biography.

Further Mr. Kano stated that it would be desirable to have a medical examination of all those living in the "Heims" so as to have the necessary data with regard to their ability for work.

Returning to the question of the desirability of receiving material for the press, which would illuminate the Jewish question and could be used to counter balance the material spread by other groups concerning the Jewish question, Mr. Kano informed that Mr. Kubota would give all his aid for spreading such material.

In conclusion Mr. Kano mentioned Mr. Kubota's desire for speedy completion of formalities of the S.A.C.R.A. Committee as a business organisation, so that Mr. Radomishelsky, for whom Mr. Kubota will give his full guarantee, could be brought in as a permanent member.

Dr. Cohn informed that Mr. Kubota had given him the letter from the Russian Emigrant Committee,[65] in which the latter asks for a decision about the Russian Jews who came here from Europe after 1937 and never had a foreign passport. Dr. Cohn promised to answer the letter in the next few days and hoped that several groups concerned would be freed from transfer to the designated area.

Mr. Radomishelsky thanked Dr. Cohn in the name of the Committee for the information given and assured him that the Committee would take all measures to complete all suggestions.

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65 The Russian Emigrants' Committee was established in 1926; it claimed a leadership position among the various rival Russian emigrant organizations. The majority of the Shanghai Russian Jews (numbering from 6000 to 8000) preferred to abstain from membership, even though the establishment of a Russian Jewish organization was requested by the Japanese authorities in 1940; cf. Ristaino, Port, 171 f.

Document 102

Anonymous
June 4, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 3.
DNB, Deutsche Exilpresse

Interview T. Kubotas mit der „Evening Post"

In einem Interview mit der „Shanghai Evening Post" hat der Leiter des Stateless Refugee Bureau, Mr. Tsutomu Kubota, erneut darauf hingewiesen, dass die Proklamation, die den staatenlosen Fluechtlingen einen bestimmten Bezirk zuweist, aus Gruenden militaerischer Notwendigkeit erfolgt sei und keinesfalls einen diskriminierenden antisemitischen Akt darstelle. Japans Politik gegenüber anderen Nationen sei hauptsaechlich auf dem Hakku-Ichiu[66] begruendet, dem jahrhunderte alten Prinzip der Verstaendigung und allumfassenden Bruederschaft, die jede religioese oder rassische Diskriminierung ausschliesse. Der den staatenlosen Fluechtlingen zugewiesene Bezirk sei daher kein Ghetto, sondern solle ein lichtvoller Platz sein, an dem sie sich heimatlich geschuetzt und wohl fuehlen sollen.

Weiter fuehrte Mr. Kubota aus, dass die Fluechtlinge zu ihrem materiellen Wohlergehen und gleichzeitig zum Nutzen der Shanghaier Wirtschaft Gelegenheit zu produktiver Arbeit erhalten wuerden, aehnlich dem System des „Kinrohoshi"[67] in Japan, wo die Taetigkeit den wirtschaftlichen Erfordernissen angepasst wird. Er pruefe gegenwaertig entsprechende Plaene, unter anderem Plaene fuer die Errichtung einer Fabrik zu [sic] Herstellung medizinischer Instrumente, einer anderen Fabrik zur Fabrikation von Leder sowie mehrerer anderer aehnlicher Unternehmen produktiver Natur. Nach Inbetriebnahme dieser Werke wuerden die Erzeugnisse zu angemessenen Preisen auf den Markt gebracht werden. Die Errichtung derartiger Betriebe werde unter dem Schutz japanischer Kreise durch die S.A.C.R.A. erfolgen.

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66 *Hakkō ichiu* (Japan., "all the world under one roof") is a historical term from the eighth century CE referring to the mythical origin of the first Tennō and the construction of his palace. From 1940 to the end of World War II, it served as a slogan of official Japanese government policy and war propaganda, expressing the establishment of a new order in East Asia. It was also occasionally used as a term for universal brotherhood.

67 The *kinrō hōshi* (Japan., "labor service") was a program of volunteer work by school pupils and students in Japan.

Mr. T. Kubota erklaerte, dass die Arbeit voellig freiwillig, also keine Zwangsarbeit, sein werde, doch sei zu hoffen, dass alle Betroffenen volle Mitarbeit zeigen.

Vorgesehen ist ferner die Errichtung eines Marktes durch die SACRA [sic], um den durch die erhoehte Einwohnerzahl im Bezirk gesteigerten Bedarf an Lebensmitteln zu decken.

Mr. Kubota teilte ferner mit, dass er die Schaffung eines Sportzentrums zu genehmigen beabsichtige, da es sein besonderer Wunsch sei, dass alle Einwohner, vor allem die Kinder, durch koerperliche Ertuechtigung eine gute physische und geistige Entwicklung durchmachen.

Document 103

Harry Gonda[68] *(SMP)*
May 7, 1943
Typewritten report, 3 pages; each page has a printed heading; the date and subject were typewritten. On the front page is an illegible stamp.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78A

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE
REPORT

Station …… *File No.* …… *Date* … May 7th 1943

SUBJECT: Problem of Stateless Refugees

Consternation is prevailing amongst the Stateless Refugees, since the 18th of May is now so very near and the situation in every respect has become far worse for them and is still daily growing more serious. From the numerous problems confronting them, the most important are the ones connected with their work and their housing.

As to the first of the two problems, the Refugees clearly realize that in the long run it will be the more serious one because there are very few people who are in a position to cover their daily expenses for an uncertain period without earning money. And whether they will be able to earn money is – at

68 Gonda (1918–?) hailed from Hungary. He joined the SMP in 1939; cf. the online list of Shanghai Municipal Policemen by Robert Bickers, <http://eis.bris.ac.uk/~hirab/smpeg.html> (October 20, 2016).

least in their eyes – very questionable. Owing to the very deplorable fact, that until to-day, that is 11 days before the Military Proclamation is to become effective, not one clear regulation has been issued by the authorities, the people not only suffer financial losses and inconvenience, but what is more important, they still don't know what will happen to their business and whether they will be able to continue their work. According to the rumour circulatin [sic] amongst the Refugees the Doctors, Pharmacies, and some people, who have friends in the SACRA will be exempted, but this will be not more than about 500 people, the rest of about 16,000 Refugees, so continue the rumours will after two or three months be locked up in the designated area and will be unable to obtain permits to continue their work. Now the average amount of money, which a |2| Refugee can have saved is around 10,000 Dollars and if he is one of the few very rich Refugees he might have around 50,000 Dollars. Thanks to the damnable practice of some of the Refugees living already in the designated area – but not only Refugees – amount [sic] around $ 5000.– to $ 15,000,– had to be paid for rooms or suitable living quarters and all they have left to live is now a very small sum of money which will be spent after a few weeks. After that actual starvation will set in.

The second not less important problem is the housing question, which is growing more serious day by day. Apart from the fact that there absolutely are not sufficient accommodations for the number of people requiring rooms or flats, certain practices have made themselves noticeable [sic], which have multiplied the difficulties of the Refugees. The Keymoney Racket, which officially has been prohibited by the authorities, came into existence again and cases are known where people had to pay for one unfurnished room $ 7000.– just to move in.

The Refugees themselves blame the Authorities, who have shown themselves very weak in this respect but even more they blame the SACRA, who as an official organization had all the possible means of drawing the attention of the Police to this matter. There is little doubt, that if the Police would punish one or two of the offenders the rest would get so afraid that this racket would be stopped. But to crown the whole racket the SACRA instead of attempting to stop the keymoney racket, are commencing themselves to charge so called repair fees[69] |3| which are after all nothing else but key-money.

In view of all the above it is not surprising that the Refugees are not only dissatisfied with the Sacra [sic] but that demands are being heard that the SACRA be replaced by a committee consisting only of those groups who are

69 The last four lines, beginning with "offenders," have been marked by hand on the right margins.

actually concerned with the matter. Because the Russian Jews, who only were supposed to give the money, and even that they did not do, or very unsatisfactory, have no other concern than to make a lot of money out of the Refugees. It is furthermore absolutely not clear why the Russian Jews should be made the arbitrary judges over the destiny of the European Refugees, who are partly not even Jewish.

In connection with this it is rumoured that after the 18th of May, when Mr. Kubota will have convinced himself of the inability of the SACRA, that the whole SACRA will be dissolved and reorganised.

O i/c Foreign Affairs
Crime & Special Branch
{H. L̊. Gonda}
DS 12

Document 104

Eduard Gigarson[70] *(SMP)*
May 22, 1943
Typewritten report, 2 pages; the pages have a printed letterhead; the station, date, and subject were inserted by typewriter. On the front page is a receipt stamp and a registry stamp (both dated June 12, 1943).
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78B

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE
REPORT

~~*Station*~~ … Foreign Affairs … *File No.* …… *Date* … May 22-nd, 1943.

SUBJECT: Stateless Refugees – Removal to the Designated Area.

In connection with the removal of the Stateless Refugees into the Designated Area it can be stated that the majority, about 90 %, have now [been] removed into the area or together with the persons who were already res-

70 Eduard Ivanovich Gigarson (1889–?) joined the SMP in 1923; cf. ibid.

idents of the area, there are at present not less than 13,600 stateless refugees, of whom about 6600 moved into the area about 7000 lived inside the area.

About 250 refugees received prolongation, mostly consisting of doctors, lawyers, and religious persons. Most of them have to move in by the 1-st of June.

About 1400 refugees received prolongation, because of special circumstances they were unable to accomplish the removal owing to some unforeseen reason without loss of property.

Change of houses: About 415 cases of change of houses have been registered. Accomplished in 145 cases.

251 houses were changed with Japanese subjects and this consists 60 % of all changes. Accomplished in 80 cases.

110 houses were changed with Chinese citizens. Accomplished in 36 cases.

54 houses with various foreigners. Accomplished in 29 cases.

The stateless refugees have now to apply for Special Passes to leave the Designated Area to the Stateless Refugee Affairs Office. The following particulars are required for the application:

a) Applications to be made between the 25-th and 30-th of May, 1943.

b) Name and address of employment.

c) Route by which applicant wishes to proceed from his home in the area to place of employment.

d) Time required for the employment – daily.

e) Applicant is responsible for the correctness of the information furnished on the application.

f) Must have a guarantor or the signature of the employer, who shall be responsible for the action of the applicant.

The Jewish Refugee organizations are warning their members to adhere in all details to the instructions of |2| the Special Passes if such are issued in order to avoid further restrictions against all stateless refugees affected by the proclamation.

It must be stated that a number of refugees were handicaped [sic] in removing into the designated area, owing to the high room repair charges of the former Chinese School premisses [sic] on East Yuhang Road as set down by the SACRA.

The charges are from $ 15.00 to $ 25.00 per sq. foot only to move into the premisses and then rent from 60 cents to 75 cents per sq. foot per month.

This means that a person who wishes to rent a room from the SACRA in the above premisses has to have a capital at least of $ 20,000 for the first six months, excluding electricity and water, etc.

However at present 80 % of the 114 rooms in the above mentioned place have already been taken by stateless refugees, who could not find suitable houses or rooms elsewhere in the designated area.

The Polish Jewish Refugees, supported by the "Eastjewcom" have been told to move into the Salvation Army Shelter at 630 Muirhead Road, which premisses are specially being prepared at present. However it is known that these refugees are not satisfied with the premisses, owing to the cement floor, and recently went to the SACRA, 137 Peking Road, where the [sic] caused trouble, demanding to be accommodated in private houses in the designated area.

Further enquiries are being made and reports will be forwarded in due course.

{E. Gigarson}
D. S. I.
Officer i/c Foreign Affairs Section,
Crime & Special Branches.

Document 105

Gerhard Schaie[71] *(SMP)*
August 11, 1943
Typewritten report, 2 pages; the pages have a printed letterhead; station and date were inserted by typewriter. On the front page is a receipt stamp and a registry stamp (both dated August 16, 1943).
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78B

71 Gerhard Schaie (1914–?) was a Jewish refugee from Posen (Poznań, Poland). He was employed in the SMP's Special Branch (later known as the Foreign Affairs Section) from 1939 to 1945. He eventually immigrated to the United States; cf. <http://www.magnes.org/collections/archives/western-jewish-americana/mattimore-lillian-papers-and-photographs-circa-1876-19> (January 18, 2017). Special thanks to Robert Bickers for his help in deciphering the name and for biographical references.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE
REPORT

Station … Foreign Affairs Section; C&S Branch *File No.* …… *Date* …11–8–43

SUBJECT: The Situation of Refugees After the Start of the Segregation on Aug 10th, 1943

Through the coming into effect of the segregation, the situation of refugees inside the area has changed drastically. From the day when the date of segregation became known, purchases by merchants inside the area have been very small because they did not know whether they will be able to keep up their connections with outlying areas, where they used to sell their goods and products. Anybody forced to sell goods in the area for reasons of obtaining ready cash will receive ridiculous prices, because at the very moment, merchants prefer to have some cash to buying goods, of which they do not know whether they will be able to sell them. Hardest hit are those small tradespeople and hawkers who lived from their day-to-day earnings. This class of people can already say until when their means will last and when they will have to apply for public charity. Due to these reasons, refugees are deeply concerned over the future of the inmates of the area. This question forms the topic of all conversations.

It is learnt, that the Jewish Gemeinde through its Economic Section will assist in the issue of passes over short periods. If a person has a legitimate reason to leave the area on one or several days, he makes an application at the Jewish Gemeinde. The latter forwards it to the 70 Muirhead Rd. office[72] and, after approval, issues it.

Doubts are still existing with holders of special passes as regards the proper extent of districts given on the back of special passes. One category of passes |2| was issued with the backside chopped "Yangtsepoo" [sic]. It is not known whether this refers to the Police District or any other district. The same refers to passes chopped "Settlement." An explanation given in the S'hai Jewish Chronicle of Aug. 11th, is not clear enough to avoid misunderstandings. It would seem advisable to publish a map showing the exact limits of the districts according to the meaning of the Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs Bureau.

After a number of persons still residing outside the designated area have got into trouble when visiting the designated area, i.e. on leaving the area, such persons are now avoiding to enter the area unless it is absolutely nec-

72 The Shanghai Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs was located here.

essary, for instance when they exchange their allotment or extention [sic] against the application for a removal permit.

Since most of the extentions will expire at the end of August 1943 and allotment holders have been called up by S.A.C.R.A. notification No. 34 to prepare their removal into the area, it can be expected that nearly all affected refugees will reside inside the area by the end of this month.
{G. Schaie}
D. S.
Foreign Affairs Section
C & S Branch

Document 106

Anonymous
September 3, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 123 (English supplement), unpaginated. Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Special Passes are Issued only to Assist the Progress of the Designated Area
Warns Mr. T. Kubota in a Special Interview Granted to "Our Life"

In a special interview granted to "Our Life" Mr. T. Kubota, Director of the Bureau for Stateless Refugee Affairs, made a few important and far reaching statements.

Informing Mr. Kubota of the pending publication of a special issue of "Our Life" devoted to the Designated Area, our representative requested him to express his views and opinions as to economical prospects of the Area and the significance of Special Passes issued to the refugees.

Since 10th of August – said Mr. Kubota – restriction of movement of people affected by the Proclamation of 18th February and residing in the Area was enforced, and persons who wish to leave the Area to attend their work now must obtain Special Passes. This restriction is but a normal and natural outcome of the Proclamation of the High Command of Febr. 18th. It must be borne in mind however, that the Special Passes are being issued not with the idea just to enable the people to leave the Area and attend their businesses but in order to assist the construction and progress of the economical development of the Area. The normal status should be that every person affected by the Proclamation and living within the Area should eventually reinstate

himself in such a business or employment which could be pursued within the limits of the Designated Area. All private persons and groups should be encouraged to create enterprises of productive nature so as to develop the Designated Area, make it economically self-sustaining, as well as to cooperate with the Great East Asiatic S. [sic] Prosperity Sphere.[73]

Naturally – continued Mr. T. Kubota – I expect that SACRA will continue to do its good work and will redouble its efforts in assisting the affected people in the Area with their enterprises and undertakings and also spiritually, but I also expect the affected people not to rely too much upon others and more upon themselves remembering that "God helps those who help themselves." I feel certain that by mutual cooperation of SACRA and the people affected, various productive undertakings will be established which will bring prosperity into the Area and make it sooner and quicker self sustaining – concluded his interview Mr. T. Kubota.

Document 107

Anonymous (Relief Division, ICRC)[74]
June 24, 1943
Typewritten report (copy), 1 page.
CZA, file C2/1125–102

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73 The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a propaganda concept, invented by the Japanese imperial military and government. Its aim was to create a block of Asian nations under Japanese leadership that would be free of Western influence. This block was to consist of China, Japan, Manchukuo, and parts of Southeast Asia.

74 In autumn 1944 the ICRC received the Nobel Prize for Peace. The official website of the Nobel Prize reads, "The main reason given [by the Nobel Prize Committee for choosing the ICRC] was its work on behalf of prisoners of war. […] The Nobel Committee was not aware that the Red Cross was fully informed of the Nazi extermination of Jews. This was not known until the 1980s. It then emerged that in 1942 the organization had adopted a resolution to keep silent. It feared that publication of the atrocities might trigger reprisals against prisoners of war or provoke military action against neutral Switzerland. It was also afraid that the cooperation between the ICRC and the Swiss government might collapse. The Red Cross has since expressed regret for this suppression of the facts." Cf. The Norwegian Nobel Institute, The Nobel Peace Prize 1944, <https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1944/red-cross-facts.html> (August 28, 2016).

Copy
Relief Division Secretariate [sic] Geneva, June 24th, 1943.
DM/RA.

NOTES ON THE NEWLY CREATED AREA IN SHANGHAI IN WHICH STATELESS REFUGEES WILL RESIDE
(Compiled from information received from our delegate[75])

The Japanese authorities in Shanghai recently issued a proclamation to the effect that all stateless refugees will have to be moved into a designated area by the 18th May. This area, comprising some 40 blocks, slightly less than one square mile, is in the eastern section of Shanghai; all the usual services exist, viz. water, gas, electricity, trams, etc.

The proclamation affects all stateless persons who arrived in Shanghai since 1937, estimated at 20,000 to 25,000. Included in this number are some 6000 Jews who are utterly destitute and just manage to exist on the meagre meals they get from the Jewish Communal kitchens. About 9000 Jews more are in only slightly better condition and are likely also to become destitute in a few months. A further number of approximately 2000 to 3000 Jews at present earn a modest living as tailors, shoemakers, hair dressers, etc. or as office employees in commercial firms, but they may lose this income when they move into the designated zone. About 3000 Jews have means of their own, individual fortunes ranging from a few thousand CRB Dollars to a few Millions. Also affected by this proclamation are arrivals since 1937 who, although of Jewish stock, are of Protestant or Catholic faith; it also affects such people as Latvians, Lithuanians, etc. In short, people who are not represented by any Government.

It is still premature to form an idea of how the transfer will affect the living conditions of these people, but this is by no means a new problem, having existed ever since the refugees came to Shanghai, where they have been many years and where, at the best of times, many were never able to earn their living. It will largely depend upon themselves what they can make out of it. Those people who have shops, factories, professional of-

75 The delegate in Shanghai was Edouard Egle. The official ICRC delegation was set up in Shanghai in March 1942 after receiving the approval of the Japanese authorities. Originally allowed to extend relief work only to POWs, the Japanese authorities eventually permitted relief service for civilians as well; cf. ICRC (ed.), Report of the International Committee of the Red Cross on its Activities During the Second World War (September 1, 1939 to June 30, 1947), vol. 1: General Activities, Geneva, May 1948, 447–449.

fices at present in other parts of the town and who will have to remove into the designated area should have no great difficulties to liquidate their present positions and re-establish themselves in the new area. The housing problem neither should prove too serious a problem, as the number of persons who are living now in the designated area and who will have to move out is much larger than the number of people who have to move into this area, it is largely a matter of the exchange being properly organised. There is also no reason to anticipate that the designated area will not get sufficient foodstuffs, or that factories in the designated area will enjoy fewer facilities to obtain raw materials and to sell their products freely than factories in other parts of the town. It has to be admitted that many of the shop-owners, professionals, brokers, etc., who now have to move into the designated area, have during recent years built up their prosperity through dealing with Chinese and Foreign nationals who had money to spend, whilst in future they can cater only to residents in the designated area and whose average purchasing power probably will be very low. For instance, a furrier shop or a high class establishment of ladies' dresses would naturally have been operating more profitably in French town than they can ever expect to do in the designated area.

As mentioned already, many of the people who have to move into the designated area, have sizeable fortunes, and it is largely a question whether or not they will use their means for the development of industrial and commercial activity in the new area, thereby providing opportunities for a great number of poorer people to earn their living. However, even under the most favourable conditions, a great deal of the distress prevailing now amongst the many thousands of destitutes is bound to remain.

Document 108

[Illegible] (Abteilung Abwehr, OKW)[76] *to RSHA*[77]
July 22, 1943
Typewritten letter, 1 page. In composing this letter, the OKW drew upon a letter it had received from a department of its military intelligence service, the Auslandbriefprüfstelle Bordeaux.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/73B

Oberkommando der Wehrmacht Berlin W 35, den 22. Juli 1943.
Ausl/Abw Abt Abw[78] III Nr.03103/43 (III N 3)

Betr.: Erfassung, Unterbringung und Unterstützung aller Ausländer ohne Staatsangehörigkeit in Shanghai.

An das Reichssicherheitshauptamt
Amt IV
Berlin SW 11
Prinz Albrecht-Str. 8

an Ausl. I / D 2[79]

Nachstehend wird ein Auswertungsergebnis der ABP[80] Bordeaux aus einem Brief vom 12. 3. [1943].

Absender: The Far Eastern Jewish Central Inform. Bur. for Emigrants, Shanghai,

Empfänger: Comissao Portuguesa de Assist. Aos Judeus Refgiados [sic], Lisboa,[81]

zur Kenntnisnahme übersandt.

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76 The head of the Defense Section of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW) in Berlin was at that time Wilhelm Canaris.

77 For the RSHA, see ch. 1, n. 96.

78 Ausland/Abwehr Abteilung Abwehr.

79 This was the office Gouvernementsangelegenheiten Polen im Reich, at this time headed by Harro Thomsen.

80 Auslandbriefprüfstelle.

81 The Comissão Portuguesa de Assistência aos Judeus Refugiados em Portugal (Commission for the Assistance of the Jewish Refugees in Portugal, COMASSIS) was founded by the local Jewish community in Lisbon in 1940; it maintained a social kitchen and a hospital for the refugees. It was financed mainly by the AJJDC, whose

„Dieser Brief des jüdischen Informationsbüros „Hicem“ in Shanghai wurde über Istanbul dem jüdischen Büro in Lissabon zugesandt. Aus dem Briefe geht hervor, daß gegenwärtig alle nach 1937 in Shanghai eingetroffenen Ausländer ohne Nationalität sowie alle Flüchtlinge festgestellt werden und mit Hilfe der Behörden in einem besonderen Stadtteil (Hongkew) untergebracht werden sollen. Es wird ausdrücklich betont, daß es sich in keiner Weise dabei um antisemitische Maßnahmen handle.

Die betreffende Stelle im Brief lautet: „Von Mitte Mai an werden alle Flüchtlinge ohne Staatsangehörigkeit, die hier (Shanghai) nach 1937 aus Europa angekommen sind, einschließlich der Flüchtlinge aus Polen, Litauen, Lettland etc. in dem Stadtteil von Shanghai (Hongkew) leben, in dem gegenwärtig über die Hälfte von ihnen leben, und wo sich auch die Flüchtlingsheime und Hilfseinrichtungen befinden. Die Behörden erklären dazu, daß das nicht als eine besondere gegen die Juden gerichtete Maßnahme oder als irgend eine antisemitische Handlung angesehen werden soll. Eine besondere soziale Kommission wurde hier eingerichtet, die Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaboration Association (Sacra), die in Zusammenarbeit mit den Behörden dafür sorgen will, daß die Flüchtlinge untergebracht werden. Unsere Organisation wird eine Zweigstelle in dem Flüchtlings-Bezirk haben. {"#}

Der Chef des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht
Im Auftrage
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only remaining office in Europe at that time was in Lisbon, where it had relocated after leaving Paris in 1940; cf. Ronald Weber, The Lisbon Route. Entry and Escape in Nazi Germany, Lanham Md. 2011.

Document 109

Henry Wasmer[82] *(Relief Division, ICRC) to Marc Peter*[83] *(ICRC)*
June 15, 1943
Typewritten letter, 3 pages (copy?).
Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

COMITE INTERNATIONAL
de la CROIX ROUGE

AGENCE CENTRALE
DES PRISONNIERS DE GUERRE
Relief Division
DM/eh
S. 200

Note for the Delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

Geneva, June 15, 1943

Dear Mr. Peter:

With reference to the situation of the civilian population in Shanghai, we give you below the summary of a report recently arrived from our delegate.[84] This report clearly indicates that the conditions are very grievous and steadily becoming worse.

We would earnestly request you to submit each separate case to the Welfare Committee or Societies, who might possibly be able to render financial assistance. We cannot stress sufficiently the importance of this action on our part as even the smallest contributions can save untold lives.

A) German Jewish refugees

The worst distress exists undoubtedly amongst the German-Jewish immigrants, of whom at least 6000 are on the point of starvation and about 9000 more are not far better off. The local Jewish Committee told our delegate a fortnight ago that they can raise local contributions to an amount of max-

82 Wasmer (1901–1992) was a Swiss ICRC official since 1942. He was responsible for the Relief Division's procurement, transportation, and distribution of care packages to POWs.

83 Peter (1873–1966) was a longtime Swiss diplomat to the United States before he became representative of the ICRC in Washington in 1941. He was head of its central agency for POWs.

84 This was Edouard Egle.

imum CRB$ 10.– per capita per month and which is next to nothing when you take into account the high cost of foodstuffs at Shanghai, even a Chinese coolie requiring CRB$ 150.– a month to feed himself. For the moment the Jewish Committee have still some of the 3000 bags of flour left which was donated last July, but even that will be exhausted by the end of next month, when the Committee will no longer be able to provide the one slice of bread daily which at present keeps precariously body and soul together of thousands of these poor wretches. It need hardly be mentioned that medical care is practically non-existent because to furnish even the most necessary medicaments would cost more than all the money which the Jewish Committee can raise. The comfort of heating can be dismissed as a dream, and the little threadbare clothing gives no protection against the coldness and humidity of the Shanghai winter climate.

Unfortunately the conditions of distribution are not so easily settled as our delegate has had the occasion to see, as a great deal of corruption prevails amongst certain members of the Jewish Administration.

Our delegate would therefore be unable to undertake a systematic distribution unless the entire organization can be altered and the distribution placed completely under the control of the International Committee of the Red Cross, preferably with the cooperation of the Japanese or Municipal Authorities. To carry through such systematical relief even by providing only the most necessary in the way of food, medical attention and clothing would require an amount of at least CRB$ 1,000,000 (1 million) a month (approximately Swiss Francs 100,000). The only alternative to this extensive plan would be to attend to the most desperate cases. In such a case an amount of Swiss Francs 10,000–20,000 monthly, spent carefully, could save hundreds of lives.

We believe that provided the funds are made available, we could overcome the |2| difficulties of distribution by working closely with one or two prominent Jews whose names we already have.

B) WHITE RUSSIANS

The next largest needy community are the White Russians, numbering about 30 000 and of whom 7000–8000 can be considered as destitute. This problem is however not quite so acute, because the Russian Community has had to carry on relief work on a vast scale for the last twenty years and has therefore a better organization and more experience. Credit must be given to the Russians that they are making almost incredible efforts to solve the problem themselves. A Russian when he barely earns enough to support himself will always manage to contribute a few dollars to his less fortunate fellow countrymen, even if he has to deprive himself of some necessary food to do

so. Likewise, if he has got only one room, he will at his own personal discomfort take in one or several of his fellow countrymen rather than let them freeze out in the street. This spirit of solidarity and self-sacrifice amongst the Russians is simply marvellous. The majority of the Russians at Shanghai reside in the French Concession, and the destitute receive a good deal of assistance from the "Caisse des Oeuvres."[85] This is an institution operating under the control of the French Consul General, the income being provided through special taxes levied on various amusement places in the concession. The soup kitchens operated by the Russian community under the control of the Caisse des Oeuvres provide at present about 7000 free meals daily. Under the same system the Russian community maintains several hospitals where destitute patients find accommodation and competent treatment free of charge. All this however does not mean that the relief problem of these White Russian destitutes is solved, because the majority of the employed Russians earn small salaries and more and more of them are losing the jobs, and the income of the Caisse des Oeuvres is dwindling because the business of the amusement places is not so brisk anymore and the amount collectable as amusement tax is falling off.

C) VARIOUS

There are several hundred destitute persons who either have no nationality or who have no Consular representation at Shanghai, such as former citizens of Danzig, Latvia, Esthonia [sic], Lithuania, Jugoslavia [sic], Iraque [sic], also Germans, Czechs and Slovakians who cannot obtain any support through the German relief society, either because they refuse to acknowledge their political affiliation with Germany or because they are of mixed ancestry and are therefore not considered as Aryans, whilst the Jewish Committee also does not recognize Protestants, Catholics, or Orthodox as Jews. There is some truth in the remarks made by some of these destitute people that even the dogs have someone to care for them in the Shanghai Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals,[86] whilst human beings are just left starving and freezing to death.

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85 The charitable Caisse des Œvres, established in 1927 in the French Concession, was funded by the profits from the auditorium and Canidrome tax; cf. Christine Cornet, The Bumpy End of the French Concession and French Influence in Shanghai, 1937–1946, in: Henriot/Yeh, In the Shadow, 257–276, here 265.

86 This organization existed since 1898, when it was established by foreigners of various nationalities.

As far as the Foreign destitutes are concerned, our delegate does not anticipate any objection on the part of the Japanese Authorities to relief work being undertaken by the I.C.R.C. as long as he advises the Authorities of what he intends to do. On the other hand, the Japanese Authorities definitely do not wish the I.C.R.C. to mix up in any systematic relief work on behalf of the Chinese or other Eastern races. The problem anyhow would be far too big for us to tackle, it would need enormous sums which certainly could not be raised in Europe or in America under present conditions. The fact that during the recent first cold spell 534 dead bodies were picked up in the streets after one night may give you an indication of the extent of the misery which prevails amongst the poorer classes of the Chinese population.

Reverting to the question of distribution to needy cases, it is obvious our |3| delegate would be unable to publish information that funds would be available, as he would then be swamped with requests. The only method possible would be to carry out this relief work "on the quiet" and in respect of the most needy cases only, and this after each application has been carefully investigated. The extent of such relief work would depend entirely on the funds which could be placed at our disposal and tabulation as to nationality, etc. could be made on AFTER the money has been spent.

Finally, as you will see from this report, the needs are desperate and an urgent action must be undertaken to provide if only the barest relief.

We thank you in advance for everything you can do in this respect and await your early reply.

Yours sincerely
For the International Committee of the Red Cross
H. Wasmer
Manager of the Relief Division

Document 110

Moses A. Leavitt[87] *(AJJDC) to John W. Pehle*[88] *(U.S. Treasury Dept.)*
December 10, 1943
Typewritten letter (copy?), 2 pages.

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87 About Leavitt, see ch. 3, n. 23.

88 Pehle was an assistant to US-Secretary of the Treasury Henry J. Morgenthau. He was the main proponent of the idea of a central US-institution for rescue operations. The War Refugee Board was finally established by President Roosevelt in January 1944, with Pehle as its de facto director.

Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

Mr. John W. Pehle
Foreign Funds Control
Treasury Department,
Sloan Building,
12th and G Sts., N.W.
Washington D.C.

December 10, 1943

Dear Mr. Pehle:

With the return on the Gripsholm of Miss Laura Margolis, we had occasion to ascertain the present situation of the refugees in Shanghai. Prior to her internment in February 1943, Miss Margolis set up a local Joint Distribution Committee composed of the following individuals: –

Mr. C. Brahn, former German
Mr. M. Glueckmann, stateless
Dr. Lang, stateless
Mr. J. Bitker, Polish
Mr. M. Schifron, Russian Emigrant
Mr. L. Wachsner, stateless

These individuals – all Jews, of course – were empowered by Miss Margolis to secure funds locally on the following understanding: although not authorized by the J.D.C. to borrow funds in Shanghai, it was in accordance with the best knowledge and belief of Miss Margolis that the J.D.C. would honor such borrowing when the notes would be presented in New York, or six months after the conclusion of the war with Japan on this basis. Miss Margolis authorized the borrowing of the equivalent in local currency of 1,405,000 Swiss francs, of which 805{000} Swiss francs had actually been borrowed by August 1943.

As you can readily understand, the rates secured in Shanghai under these conditions were very low. The average runs about 7 to 8 Shanghai dollars to the Swiss franc, although the free market rate was closer to 25, and the official conversion rate of the Swiss franc in August 1943 was 22.50 Shanghai dollars.

Miss Margolis is definitely convinced that if the committee named above were to be informed they can and would be authorized by J.D.C. to borrow against eventual repayment after the war, the rate at which they could raise funds would be considerably higher than the present rate which they are receiving.

|2| You will be interested to know that at the present rate of borrowing, and with the contributions received from the local Shanghai community, there

should be sufficient funds available to provide 5000 refugees with one meal a day of about 500 calories until July 1944. There are 5000 other refugees who are in desperate need and who also ought to receive a minimum of food. In order to meet the needs of the 10,000 refugees and perhaps give them a light supplemental meal a day, we believe that it will be necessary for us to authorize equivalent of borrowings at the rate of $ 25,000 a month. We are anxious to be permitted to send an authorization to Shanghai to cover a period of 12 months.

Miss Margolis assures us that the delegate of the International Red Cross, Mr. Edward Egli [sic], has signified his willingness to supervise the expenditure of funds on behalf of the refugees. The committee of six, named above, is empowered only to raise funds locally by borrowing. These funds, in turn, are turned over to SACRA, which is the Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Relief Association. Mr. Egli works very closely with SACRA, and we believe that it would be helpful in every way if the International Red Cross were to retain their interest in and supervision of the relief funds.

In light of the above, we would respectfully request the Treasury Department to license us to send the following cable to the International Red Cross in Geneva:

> "PLEASE ADVISE YOUR DELEGATE EDWARD EGLI IN SHANGHAI CHINA TO NOTIFY JDC COMMITTEE SHANGHAI THAT IT IS EMPOWERED TO BORROW THE EQUIVALENT IN SWISS FRANCS OF ONEHUNDRED TEN THOUSAND SWISS FRANCS PER MONTH FOR A PERIOD OF TWELVE MONTHS STOP BORROWING IS NOT NECESSARILY RESTRICTED TO THAT SUM EVERY MONTH BUT THE OVERALL TOTAL AUTHORIZATION MUST BE ADHERED TO STOP WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD FEEL FREE TO INSTRUCT YOUR REPRESENTATIVE EGLI TO SUPERVISE EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS THUS RAISED LOCALLY STOP WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR REQUESTING CONFIRMATION RECEIPT OF THIS CABLE FROM SHANGHAI"

Sincerely yours,
Moses A. Leavitt
Secretary
#AL:bf

Document 111

Henry Wasmer[89] *(Relief Division, ICRC) to Saly Mayer*[90] *(JDC, Switzerland)*
March 15, 1944
Typewritten letter, 3 pages; the first page has a printed letterhead; the date was inserted by typewriter. On the upper left corner of first page is the stamp of the Red Cross ("Comité International Genève"), and on the upper left corner a handwritten note ("Tel 17 III 44 M̊ Friedrich thanks").
Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE
DIVISION DE SECOURS

Rappeler dans la réponse:
EXO JF/GL
S. 8/I/200

GENÈVE, den 15. März 1944
Hôtel Beau-Séjour

Herrn Saly Mayer
Tigerbergstrasse 26
St. Gallen.

Betrifft: Hilfe für Shanghai.

Sehr geehrter Herr Mayer,

Wir bestätigen Ihnen unsere letzte Zuschrift vom 9. Februar und sind heute in der Lage, Ihnen einige weitere Informationen zu geben.

Vorerst sind wir im Besitze eines Briefes unseres Delegierten in Shanghai, Herr Egle, von Ende Dezember 1943, worin er sich auf unseren Telegrammwechsel vom November 1943 bezieht, betreffend Hilfe für die religiöse Gruppe. Im besonderen erwähnt Herr Egle, dass die SACRA ihn Mitte November veranlassen wollte, ein Telegramm folgenden Inhalts an uns abzusenden:

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89 About Wasmer, see above, n. 82.

90 Saly Mayer (1882–1950) of St. Gallen was the JDC emissary in Switzerland. Despite the efforts of Margolis prior to her internment in 1943 to raise local funds on AJJDC credit, Shanghai's financial situation had become significantly worse. In March 1944 the AJJDC was finally able to transfer funds to Mayer who in turn moved Swiss francs to Shanghai; cf. Hanna Zweig-Strauss, Saly Mayer 1882–1950. Ein Retter jüdischen Lebens während des Holocaust, Cologne 2007.

> "Religious group getting relief from Polish Aid Society[91] and others, totalling not less than double amount of what other needy refugees get. Religious group are getting housing accommodation from S.A.C.R.A. organization and other necessary relief. Last remittance of Swiss francs 30,000.– was used exclusively for one hot meal daily for most needy refugees. The amount received was not sufficient for even one month. For your information, S.A.C.R.A., which is Central Refugee Relief Organization, has 18 best known Jewish social members representing all local Jewish organizations. All needy Refugees are treated as fairly as possible. Additional help is urgently required."

Da Herr Egle, abgesehen von der Länge dieser Mitteilung, offenbar andere Gründe hatte, nicht „tel quel" zu telegraphieren, schickte er uns ein Telegramm mit folgendem Wortlaut:

> "Religious group getting relief from Polish Aid Society and housing accommodation from Sacra stop Sacra states total relief granted religious group approximately double what other needy refugees obtain stop local Jewish organisations represented on committee of Sacra,"

|2| von welchem wir Ihnen mit unserem Telephon vom 22. November 1943 Kenntnis gaben. Dieses Telegramm wurde nun leider in der Tat missverstanden. Zudem enthielt die Mitteilung der SACRA an Herrn Egle, wie sich später herausstellte, eine kleine Unrichtigkeit inbezug auf die Wohnung („housing accomodation"), die der religiösen Gruppe angeboten wurde. Die SACRA liess nämlich während des letzten Sommers ein Gebäude renovieren und stellte es der religiösen Gruppe zur Verfügung. Der religiösen Gruppe schien aber der Vorschlag nicht angenehm zu sein, weil das Gebäude früher der Heilsarmee diente und somit rituelle Gründe gegen dessen Benützung sprachen. Die SACRA sorgt somit nicht für die Unterbringung der religiösen Gruppe, die auch sonst keine besondere Unterstützung von ihr bezieht, wie wir Ihnen dies bereits in unserem Schreiben vom 19. Januar mitteilen mussten.

In diesem Brief von Ende Dezember bestätigt Herr Egle nochmals, dass weder die Polish Aid Society noch die SACRA zu dieser Zeit über irgendwelche Mittel verfügten, womit sie der religiösen Gruppe, bezw. andern [sic] Gruppen oder Einzelpersonen spezielle Unterstützung gewähren konnten.

Im weitern kommen wir zurück auf unser Schreiben vom 4. Februar, und wir erhielten gestern von unserem Delegierten in Lissabon einen Bericht von

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91 The Polish Aid Society supported the Polish war refugees, while the London Polish exile government supplied the funds. Later on, the Japanese authorities prohibited the activities of the Polish Aid Society; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 80.

Fräulein Laura Margolis, den unser Delegierter von Herrn Dr. Schwartz[92] erhielt. Eine textuelle Kopie dieses Berichtes legen wir bei.

Wir fürchten, dass Sie über diesen Bericht ebenfalls nicht sehr erbaut sein werden, denn er enthält nichts über die Punkte, über die wir im besonderen unterrichtet sein müssten, um uns ein klares Bild von der ganzen Situation machen zu können, wie Z.B. über die Meinungsverschiedenheiten in Shanghai, das Bestehen verschiedener Gruppen innerhalb der SACRA usw., usw. Auch enthält der Bericht keinerlei konkrete Verbesserungsvorschläge. Auf alle Fälle wird darin nochmals bestätigt, was wir Ihnen früher mitteilten und was auch weiter oben wieder erwähnt wird, nämlich dass der Erlös Ihrer Rimesse nicht für den vorgeschriebenen und von Herrn Egle ausdrücklich verlangten Zweck verwendet wurde, sondern dem „Küchenfonds" zufloss.

Auch sind die Angaben von Fräulein Margolis betreffend die verschiedenen Tätigkeiten der SACRA und der JOINT nicht sehr klar. Nach der bisherigen Erfahrung – soweit wir es natürlich von hier aus beurteilen können – scheint sich eher die SACRA für die ganz allgemeine Unterstützungsaktion einzusetzen, währenddem die JOINT den „Küchenfonds" unmittelbar verwaltet. Wir können uns zwar natürlich irren.

Es heisst zwar in einem weiteren Telegramm, das wir soeben von Herrn Egle erhielten und Ihnen wörtlich wiedergeben |3| möchten:

> "Sacra with help of Joint have increased their assistance to Polish Jewish refugees in designate area thereby mitigating hardship which otherwise would have been caused through reduced relief activities of Polish aid."

Die in dieser Nachricht erwähnte reduzierte Tätigkeit der Polish Aid Society ist eine Folge der neuen Regelung, wonach Ueberweisungen des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz in Schweizerfranken zum offiziellen Kurse von CRB$ 5.50 für Fr.s. 1.– verhandelt werden müssen. Der Erlös der monatlichen Ueberweisungen ist hierdurch viel kleiner geworden. Die Donatoren sind indessen über die Situation genau im Bilde, und wir hoffen nunmehr, grössere Ueberweisungen machen zu können.

Punkt 6 des Berichtes von Fräulein Margolis, wie übrigens der letzte Absatz von Punkt 2, erhellen die Schwierigkeiten, die sich einer zweckmässigen Koordinierung aller Hilfsaktionen in den Weg stellen. Es würde uns interessieren zu erfahren, ob Sie etwas über diese Ueberweisungen aus Schweden und Portugal wissen.

Wie Sie wissen, haben wir bei Herrn Egle insistiert, damit er trotz aller ihm im Wege stehenden Schwierigkeiten bei der Durchführung der Hilfs-

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92 Dr. Josef (Joe) Schwartz (1899–1975), chairman of the European Executive Council of the AJJDC and head of the JDC office in Lisbon.

aktion in dem in Frage stehenden Bezirke mitwirkt, und wir hoffen somit, bald weitere drahtliche Mitteilungen hierüber zu erhalten. Auch bitten wir unseren Delegierten in Washington, sich womöglich mit Fräulein Margolis in Verbindung zu setzen, denn wir sind überzeugt, dass sie nähere Angaben machen könnte, die viel zu unserer besseren Ueberblickung der Situation in Shanghai beitragen könnten.

Wir werden nicht verfehlen, Sie weiterhin auf dem Laufenden zu halten und begrüssen Sie inzwischen
hochachtungsvoll
Für das Internationale Komitee vom Roten Kreuz
{Friedrich}
{#} H. Wasmer
Direktor der Abteilung für Hilfsaktionen.

Beilage.

Document 112

Anonymous (SMP)[93]
March 14, 1944
Typewritten report, 1 page; the page has a printed letterhead, the date was typewritten. The page has a receipt stamp (March 28, 1944) and a few illegible handwritten remarks on the left margins.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/78B

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE
REPORT

Station ..... *File No.* ..... *Date* … March 14th, 1944

SUBJECT: Re: Mr. Benno Hirchmann[94] [sic]

According to an information received Mr. Benno Hirschmann [sic], a stateless refugee, at present still residing in the former French Concession is

93 For the SMP, see ch. 1, n. 25.
94 According to the List of Foreigners, Hirschmann (c. 1901–?) was a refugee from Austria.

actively engaged in black market transactions. Hirschmann, who was before a respectanle [sic] merchant has recently turned to various kinds of business and amongst other is dealing in chemicals, goldbars, currencies and other controlled commodities.

Hirschmann is a stateless refugee, who at one time got an allotment from the SACRA, this allotment expired in January and at present he is living without any document and illegally in the 8th district.

His associate is one named Egon Winter, also a refugee residing in the French Concession, and who also enjoys a very bad reputation in business circles.

Document 113

Anonymous (SACRA)[95]
March 15, 1944
Typewritten memorandum, 3 pages.
Microfilm; YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 12

MEMORANDUM

Simultaneously with the issuance of the Proclamation of the 18th of February 1943, the Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Association [sic] elected and appointed a Committee of eighteen and inaugurated the S.A.C.R.A. on the 28th of February 1943, in order to extend their utmost assistance and relief to the Refugees affected by the above mentioned Proclamation, in full co-operation with the Authorities. S.A.C.R.A. has during this period of one year been able to complete its preliminary assignment of registration and securing of premises for those who could not secure them for themselves and they have almost completed this work. Unfortunately it could not get sufficient support to put into effect the various plans for constructive work which it had in mind but could not realise. On this occasion, the completion of its first year of operation, the Committee members of S.A.C.R.A. have, after lengthy discussions, resolved as follows:

1. To completely reorganise its present formation, thereby eliminating such members who are too occupied with their numerous other social duties

95 From the content of the document it is clear that this memorandum was prepared by a person appointed by SACRA; see the General Introduction, n. 9, and Document 99.

and therefore could not give their full time towards the necessary work of S.A.C.R.A. Furthermore, to invite a certain number of new members who will be more active and beneficial for the promotion of the plans which S.A.C.R.A. intend to put into effect in the Designated Area for the benefit of the Refugees.

2. The present members who thus will not become active workers to remain as Councillors as well as supporting members, assisting the active members in discussions, planning and promotion of the various ideas and aims.

3. The most important decision reached was to ask the |2| Director General, Mr. T. Kubota, to become the Honorary Chairman of S.A.C.R.A., in order to guide and lead us in a most effective, beneficial, and proper way towards the achievement of the main aims of S.A.C.R.A.

4. The new active Committee members of the Finance Section with their accepted and supporting members will draw up a complete assessment of amounts for the supporting members, which, with the approval of the Authorities, will become a form of taxation to be imposed by order of the Stateless Refugee Affairs Bureau[96] and/or the new Honorary Chairman.

5. The Shanghai Ashkenazi Communal Association will undertake to take charge, as it has heretofore, of all the Ashkenazi Charity Organisations such as Shanghai Jewish Hospital, School, Shelter House, Synagogue, Cemetery, etc. and will not confuse issues of a similar nature with the issues of S.A.C.R.A. That is to say S.A.C.R.A. will only undertake the necessary work which concerns the Designated Area and the Refugees affected by the Proclamation, while the Ashkenazi Communal Association will take care of the collections for the above mentioned organisations of the Jewish Community, as well as the Jewish portion of the Russian Emigrants Association.

6. It is decided to request Mr. M. Kano, the Honorary Advisor of S.A.C.R.A. and Supervisor of the Construction Department of the S.S.R.A.,[97] to undertake and arrange the understanding for this realisition [sic], which will increase the capabilities of S.A.C.R.A. in realising its plans.

7. It is further decided that if the above proposed reorganisation, through the efforts of Mr. Kano, is accepted by the Director General, the present Committee will temporarily remain at |3| its post under the new Chairmanship and select exact numbers of new members or old members who will be reinstated, as well as define the necessary Departments for the execution of the plan and hand over the organisation to the newly appointed Committee, over which Mr. T. Kubota, the Director General, will preside as Chairman.
March 15/44.

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96 This was the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs.

97 This was the (Office of) Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs.

Document 114

Walter Joel[98] *(ZOS) to Shanghai Censorship-Office*[99]
March 23, 1944
Typewritten letter (copy?), 1 page; the attachment mentioned was not available.
Microfilm, YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 29.VII

Chairman Dr. Paul Parnes — 897 Point Road Tel. 50313
den 23. Maerz 44

To the
Shanghai First Police Bureau
Censorship-Office
Foochow Road

Sehr geehrte Herren,
wir beabsichtigen, anlaesslich der Oster-Feiertage eine Matinee zu veranstalten, die am 2. April 1944, Vormittags 10 Uhr im Broadway Theater, Wayside Road stattfinden soll.

Verantwortliche Person: Dr. Paul Parnes, 897 Point Road
Telephon 50313
Lawyer, former Austrian, 47 Jahre alt
Res. Cert.[100] Nr. 4108

Eintritt frei.
Programm:

1. A-capella-Chor „Hasomir" (Dirigent M. Epstein)
   a.) Hallelujah – Lobpreisung Gottes
   b.) Emeklied – Verherrlichung des Bodens in Palestine
   c.) Had gadjo – Religioeses Lied aus dem Gottesdienst.
2. „Pessach-Vision", verfasst und vorgetragen v. a. Winzer
3. Begruessungsansprache Dr. Paul Parnes

98 Joel was from Breslau, where he had owned a travel agency. He functioned as secretary of the ZOS.

99 The Japanese authorities had installed strict information censorship policies, and the refugees had to submit all papers, radio broadcasts, and stage productions to the censor; many were banned in part or in whole; cf. David Kranzler, Japanese, Nazis and Jews. The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938–1945, New York 1976, 369 and passim.

100 Residence Certificate.

4. Sabine Rapp: Hebraeische Lieder lt. inlgd.[101] Text.
5. S. Antman:[102] " " "
6. Erdsteinsches Kinderballett: 3 verschiedene Taenze
7. Raja Zomina: „Rosinen und Mandeln"; „Manasse"; „Baranowitz"
8. Prof. Walter Joachim:[103] Cellovortreage [sic]
9. Herbert Zernik: „Wilhelm Tell" – Teufel-Song – Hokus Pokus
10. Epilog – Alfred Winzer

Wir bitten Sie um Ueberpruefung unseres beabsichtigten Programmes und bitten um Genehmigung.
Mit vorzueglicher Hochachtung
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF SHANGHAI
Walter Joel
Secretray [sic]

Anlagen

Document 115

Anonymous
May 5, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 49, 1 f.
Russian; translation by Yuri Pines
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Первое Общее Собрание Реорганизованного Комитета САКРА
Важная Речь г-на Т. Кубота

В четверг 27-го Апреля состоялось Официальное заседание членов нового Комитета САКРА под председательством г-на Т. Кубота, Глав-

101 Laut [e]inliegendem.

102 Samuel Antman, a cantor and ladies' tailor from Berlin, came with his wife and three children to Shanghai in 1939; cf. Fred Antman, A Tale of Three Cities. Berlin, Shanghai, Melbourne, Melbourne 2011.

103 Joachim (1912–2001) came from Düsseldorf. He started his career as a cellist in Germany and Prague. He reached Shanghai in 1940 via Kuala Lumpur, where he had worked as cellist. He was principal cellist in the Shanghai Symphony Orchestra and taught cello at the Shanghai Conservatory until 1951, settling later in Canada.

ного Директора Шанхайского Бюро по Делам Безгосударственных Беженцен теперь совмещающего этот пост с постом Поч. Председателя Генерального Секретаря САКРА г-на М. Кано.

Собрание открыл д-р Кон, Поч. Председатель Административного и Исполнительного Комитета, который в своем слове представил новых уленов Комитета получивших назначения, и затем попросил секретаря зачесть протоколы предыдущих собраний. После некоторых прений и исправлений эти протоколы были приняты Комитетом и утверждены Поч. Председателем.

Солержание протоколов, принятых собранием и утвержденных председателем, таково:

1. Все безгосударственные евреи – резиденты Шанхая, не подпадающие под действие Прокламации от 18-го Февраля 1943 года, изданной Высшим Командованием Императорских Ниппонских Армии и Флота в районе Шанхая, считаются членами САКРА и им надлежит зарегистрироваться в качестве таковых.

2. Все евреи резиденты Шанхая, не являющиеся безгосударственными, считаются членами-соревнователями САКРА, и к ним надлежит обратиться за добровольным содействием в целях развития благородной деятельности САКРА на благо беженцев.

3. САКРА должна контролировать, поддерживать, управлять или руководить работой всех еврейских организаций в районе Шанхая.

4. Об'еденный Административный Комитет (J.A.C.) должен быть реорганизован путем назначения новых членов из разных организаций в Ограниченном Районе (как напр. Идише Гемайнде, Польской Эмигрантской Ассоциации, Чешского Клуба, Католической Федерации, Протестантской Ассоциации) и должен взять на себя заботу о многочисленных нуждах беженцев в Ограниченном Районе под наблюдением САКРА.

Финансовый вопрос

5. Все члены САКРА должны уплачивать как налог суммы, определенные финансовым Комитетом совместно с особо избранным Правлением Налогового Комитета.

6. В Воскресенье, 7-го Мая должно состояться Общее Собрание всех евреев для избрания Комитета по Обложению.

7. Необходимо немедленно приступыть к сбору всех педополученных сумм.

8. Необходимо просить всех членов соревнователей САКРА сделать свои взносы.

Жилищный вопрос

Из-за недостатка места, полный отчет о деятельности Жилищного отдела будет помещен нами позднее.

Ввиду наступления теплой погоды, по предложению д-ра Кона, было решено просить Врачебный Совет Шанхайского Еврейского Госпиталя делегировать нескольких врачей, которые бы взяли на себя совместно с Ассоциацией Врачей Органиченного Района и Врачебным Советом Китчен Фонда наблюдение за здравоохранением и принятие предохранительных мер в Ограниченном Районе.

Еврейский Рекреационный Клуб (J.R.C.)

В связи с закрытием поля Еврейского Рекреационного Клуба и распоряжением о распуске его Комитета ввиду плохого управления делами Клуба, было предложено поручить г-ну Тучинскому и г. Яновичу в порядке назначений взять на себя задачу реорганизации Е. Р. К. и представления комитету САКРА плана возможно скорейшего открытия.

Речь г-на Кубота

Поч. Председатель, г. Кубота произнес речь, подробное содержание которой приводится ниже:

«Реорганизация САКРА вызвана следующими причинами: Власти полностью отдают себе отчет в том, какая трудная и ответственная работа была взята на себя и весьма успешно проведена Комитетом САКРА за прошлый год. Однако, я должен заметить, что эта работа сильно затруднялась различными элементами как среди беженцев так и уленов САКРА, которые из-за непонимания или нежелания кооперировать с Комитетом обременяли его различными жалобами и мелкими просьбами, что не оставляло им времени ни физической возможности для осуществления более необходимой конструктив- |2| ной помощи. С другой стороны неплатеж некоторых членов препятствовал важной работе САКРА в финансовом отношении. Все это привело к ослаблению первоначальной активности САКРА в направлении ее главной задачи – конструктивной помощи, что я приписываю тому, что САКРА не имела достаточно авторитета. Теперь нужно надеяться, что после реорганизации САКРА сможет добиться осуществления своей главной задачи.

Во-вторых, я всегда считал, что местной еврейской колонии нужно предоставить возможно больше прав самостоятельно организавать и правлять своими делами под наблюдением организации, которах имела бы право представительствовать надлежащие Власти.

Например, ниппонские резиденты здесь подлежат непосредственной юрисдикции и наблюдению Консульства, но Ниппонская Резидентская Ассоциация здесь получила права осуществлять необходи-

мый контроль, собирать налоги, заведовать медицинской помощью и осуществлять прочие необходимые функции, таким образом, частично проводит в жизнь то, что в ином случае непосредственно лежало бы на Ниппонских Властях.

Таким же образом новый Комитет САКРА, благодаря реорганизации поднятый до положения Ниппонской Резидентской Ассоциации и находящийся под председательствованием представителя Ниппонского Императорского Правительства, имея полный авторитет и поддержку, должен руководить, контролировать, управлять и наблюдать над работой всех еврейских организаций в районе Шанхая и направлять их работу в соответствии с политикой Властей.

Новое положение САКРА

Благодаря своему новому положению, члены Комитета САКРА несомненно, смогут увидеть реальные результаты своей деятельности и достигнуть конечных задач в то время как реорганизация САКРА и ее координация с Шанхайскии Бюро по Делам Безгосударственных Беженцев автоматически создает тесное содействие для достижения целей помощи. В связи с этим все члены Комитета должны помнить что против всех уклоняющихся от своих обязанностей и тем мешающих работе САКРА будут приняты соответствующие меры.

Излишняя мягкость

«Шанхайское Бюро по Делам Безгосударственных Беженцев до сего времени чрезвычайно снисходательно относилось – слишком снисходательно, говоря по правде – к парушающим закон» – сказал г. Кубота. До 20 го Марта они не подвергались никаким наказаниям, и только трое беженцев были арестованы, причем все эти трое по обвинению в подделке паспортов, и прочих серьезных преступлениях. Теперь, когда излишне долгий срок был дан всем для исполнения своих обязанностей, необходимо помнить, что всякое непослушане будет сурово караться, и было бы ошибкой выявлять по отношению к ним можное сожаление.

Дерзость польских беженцев

«Весьма прискорбно отметять» – заметил в связи с вышеуказанным г. Кубота – «что большинство из нарушителей закона, если не все, являются польскими беженцами. Мы не отрицаем, что они являются полскиым подданными, но Власти из чувства сострадания решили считать их за безгосударственных ввиду их фактической безгосударственности, а не за вражеских подданных, в каковом случае их имущество было бы конфисковано согласно закону и т. д.

Однако, несмотря на эту особую мягкость по отношению к ним они все время держат себя самым непохвальным образом и вызывают не-

довольство Властей, мешая гладкому проведению прокламации, изданной военными Властями.»

К вопросу о благотворительности

Новый комитет САКРА – повторил г. Т. Кубота – организован для наблюдения над работой всех еврейских организаций в сотрудничестве с Властями, и поэтому он в этих целях принял на себя пост Поч. Председателя. В качесве такого – заявил он – он желает дать всем членам Комитета возможно больше свободы и защиты для того чтобы помочь САКРА осуществлять работу по руководству, в то время как все остальные организации должны стараться возможно более продуктивно осуществлять свои функции. В то же самое время он желает чтобы все еврейские организации как в самом Районе так и вне его активно и добровольно кооперировали с САКРА и помогали Комитету в его работе, избегая недоразумений и трений по незначительным личным мотивам.

«Благотворительпость, несомненно, необходима для тех, кто совершенно беспоможен и не в состоянии работать, но благотворительность без разбора является скорее вредной чем полезной.»

Деятельность оцевена

Заканчивая свою речь, г. Кубота предупредил членов Комитета САКРА, что их задача не является легкой. Он сказал: «Ваша работа начинается с трудностей, и Вам придется преодолеть много препятствий, она может даже закончиться трудностями, но я могу сказать, что Ваши старания не пройдут незамеченными и будут полностью оцевены моим Правительством. Ваша работа уже получила очень широкое призвание и я надеюсь, что Вы заслужите еще большую похвалу Вашей дальнейшей работой. Я прошу членов Комитета разработать подробный план работы и надеюсь, что они сделают все, что в их силах для блага своего народа.»

Резолюция благодарности

После речи г. Кубота, умело переведенной на английский язык Председателем Административного Комитета д-ром Кон, Комитет единодушно под шумные апплодисменты, принял резолюцию предложенную г. Ковнером, поч. Секретарем Административного Комитета, о выражении благодарности г-ну Кубота за принятие на себя поста Председателя и за бесценное содействие оказываемое им работе Комитета.

Назначения

Все члены нового Комитета САКРА получили официальные назначения. Назначения эти были сделаны в письменной форме. Текст этого назначения следующий: «Настоящим вы назначаетесь членом Комитета САКРА, и Вас просят почтить своим присутствием первое собрание нового Комитета, которое состоится…»

Назначение было подписано Главным Секретарем г. М. Кано и поч. Председателем д-ром А. Я. Коном по приказу Председателя, г-на Т. Кубота.
(Бюллетень No. 2)

Translation

First General Meeting of the Reorganized SACRA Committee
Important Speech by Mr. T. Kubota

An official session of the new SACRA Committee took place Thursday, April 27 with Mr. T. Kubota in the chair. Mr. Kubota is the Chief Director of the Shanghai Office for Stateless Refugees, now combining the office with that of Honorary Chairman of the SACRA Committee. Also present was the SACRA General Secretary, M. Kano.

The meeting was opened by Dr. Cohn,[104] Hon. Chairman of the Administrative and Executive Committee. He presented the newly appointed committee members, and then asked the secretary to read the minutes of the previous meeting. After some discussion and corrections, the minutes were accepted by the Committee and endorsed by the Hon. Chairman.

According to the accepted and endorsed minutes:

1. All stateless Jews residing in Shanghai who do not come under the Proclamation of February 18, 1943, issued by the Supreme Command of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai area, are considered members of SACRA and are required to register as such.
2. All Jews residing in Shanghai who are not stateless are regarded as cooperating members of SACRA; they are to apply for voluntary cooperation with the aim of developing activities by SACRA for the benefit of the refugees.
3. SACRA must control, support, supervise and guide the functions of all Jewish organizations in the Shanghai area.
4. The Joint Administrative Committee (J.A.C.) is to be reorganized by appointing the members required from various organizations in the Designated Area (as for example, the Juedische Gemeinde, Polish Emigrant Association, Czech Club, Catholic Federation, Protestant Association), and must assume care for the numerous needs of the refugees in the Designated Area under the supervision of SACRA.

104 This was A. J. Cohn.

Finances

5. All SACRA members must pay a tax to be set by the Finance Committee. A special tax committee to be chosen by the Board.
6. On Saturday, May 7, there will be a general meeting of all Jews to choose a committee for setting tax rates.
7. It is necessary to start immediately with collecting the outstanding still not obtained amounts.
8. All cooperating members of SACRA must be asked to make their contributions.

Housing

For lack of space now, we will publish a full report of the Housing Committee's work at a later date.

In view of the onset of warm weather, it was decided according to the proposal by Dr. Cohn to ask the Medical Board of the Shanghai Jewish Hospital to delegate a few doctors to jointly with the Physician's Association of the Designated Area and the Kitchen Fund Medical Council to supervise public health affairs and take preventive measures in the Designated Area.

Jewish Recreation Club (J.R.C.)

With the closing of the Jewish Recreation Club and the order to disband the board because of its poor functioning, it was proposed to assign Messrs. Toochinsky[105] and Yanowitsch to reorganize the club and submit a plan to the SACRA Committee to open it again as soon as possible.

Mr. Kubota's Speech

The Hon. Chairman, Mr. Kubota, gave a speech with details below:

The reorganization of SACRA was due to the following reasons: The authorities fully realize the difficult and responsible work the SACRA Committee has taken upon itself and conducted quite successfully. However, I must note, Mr. Kubota said, that the work was very much complicated by various elements, both among the refugees and the SACRA members who, because of lack of understanding or of the desire to cooperate with the Committee, burdened it with various complaints and insignificant requests, which allowed no time or physical possibility to provide more necessary constructive assistance.

On the other hand, the speaker said, certain members made no payments, hampering the SACRA's important financial efforts. This all weakened the

105 The Japanese authorities allowed the JRC to reopen only six months after closing it, a victory ascribed to E. S. Toochinsky (Toochinski). He eventually became the president of the JRC; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 70.

original activity of SACRA in its main task of constructive aid. |2| I attribute this to SACRA's insufficient prestige. We can now hope that with the reorganization SACRA will be able to achieve fulfilment of its main task.

In the second place, Mr. Kubota said, I have always maintained that the local Jewish community must be afforded as much rights as possible to independently arrange and run its affairs under the supervision of an organization possessing the right to represent it to the appropriate authorities.

For instance, the speaker continued, Japanese residents here have direct jurisprudence and supervision from their Consulate, but the local Japanese Residents' Association[106] has been given the right to effect necessary control, gather taxes, manage medical care, and carry out other necessary functions, thus partially conduct affairs that would otherwise burden the Japanese authorities.

In the same way the new SACRA Committee, thanks to its reorganization, was elevated to the position of the Japanese Residents' Association and chaired by a representative of the Japanese Imperial Government, will enjoy full prestige and support. It will guide, control, manage, and observe the work of all Jewish organizations in the Shanghai area and guide their efforts in keeping with the policies of the authorities.

New Status of SACRA

Thanks to its new status the SACRA Committee members will doubtlessly be able to see actual results of their efforts and will achieve the ultimate goals while SACRA is being reorganized. In coordination with the Shanghai Office for Stateless Refugees it will automatically create close cooperation for achieving the goal of aid. All committee members will have to remember that appropriate steps will be taken against those who by shirking their duties hamper the work of SACRA.

Excessive Leniency

Mr. Kubota said, the Shanghai Office for Stateless Refugees has till now been extremely lenient, too lenient, to tell the truth, toward law breakers. No one was punished till March 20. Only three refugees were arrested, all charged with forging passports and other serious crimes. Now that too much time has been allowed for all to do their duty it must be remembered that any disobe-

106 The Japanese Residents' Association came into being in the early twentieth century. It managed the public affairs of the growing Japanese community, including education. Its functions increased with the Japanese population; cf. Joshua Fogel, "Shanghai-Japan." The Japanese Residents' Association of Shanghai, in: Journal of Asian Studies 59,4 (2000), 927–950.

dience will be punished severely. It would be wrong to show any regret about such people.

Audacity of Polish Refugees

"It is very grievous to note," Mr. Kubota continued, "that most of the law breakers, if not all, are Polish refugees. We do not deny that they are Polish nationals, but out of sympathy, since they actually have no state,[107] so they are not enemy nationals, in which case their property would be confiscated by law, etc.

"However, in spite of our special leniency toward them, they always deport themselves most unpraiseworthily, rousing the dissatisfaction of the authorities and hampering the smooth conduct of the Proclamation issued by the authorities."

On Charity Matters

The speaker said that the new SACRA Committee had been forced to supervise the functioning of all Jewish organizations in cooperation with the authorities. For that reason he had assumed the office of Hon. Chairman. As Hon. Chairman, he said, he wished to give all Committee members as much freedom and protection as possible in order to help SACRA play its leading role, while all other organizations should try to carry out their functions as productively as possible.

At the same time Mr. Kubota wished all Jewish organizations, both in the Area and outside of it, to cooperate with SACRA actively and voluntarily and to help the Committee in its work, avoiding misunderstanding and friction over insignificant personal problems.

Mr. Kubota said that charity is undoubtedly essential for the completely helpless and unable to work, but indiscriminate charity is more harmful than useful.

The Work Appreciated

The speaker concluded by cautioning the SACRA Committee members that their task was not an easy one. He said that your work is beginning with difficulties and you will have to overcome many obstacles. The conclusion may also be difficult, but I can tell you that your efforts will not pass unnoticed; they will be fully appreciated by my government. Your efforts have

107 The Polish refugees claimed that they were not stateless because they had a government in exile in London. However, the Japanese government did not recognize the Polish government in exile.

already received wide recognition. I hope you will earn still greater praise by your further work.

"I am asking the Committee members to draw up a detailed plan of work and I hope they will do everything in their power for the good of their people."

Resolution of Gratitude

After Mr. Kubota's speech, capably interpreted into English by Dr. Cohn, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, the Committee unanimously and to loud applause adopted a resolution tabled by Mr. Kovner, Hon. Secretary of the Administrative Committee, expressing their gratitude to Mr. Kubota for assuming the post of Chairman and for his priceless cooperation in the work of the Committee.

Appointments

All the members of the new SACRA Committee were given official appointments. These were issued in written form, stating: "You are hereby appointed a member of the SACRA Committee, requested to honor with your presence the first meeting to be held …"

The appointment was signed by General Secretary Mr. M. Kano and Hon. Chairman Dr. A. J. Cohn on orders by Chairman Mr. T. Kubota.
(Bulletin No. 2).

Document 116

Adolf Silberschein[108] *(RELICO) to Saly Mayer*[109] *(JDC, Switzerland)*
August 9, 1944
Typewritten letter, 1 page; the page has a printed letterhead; the date was inserted by typewriter.
Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

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108 Adolf Alfred (later Abraham) Silberschein (1882–1951) was a lawyer from Poland. He was stranded in Geneva in 1939, where he had come to take part in the 21st Zionist Congress. In the same year he founded the Relief Committee for (or Committee for Relief of) the War-stricken Jewish Population (RELICO), which was financially supported primarily by the World Jewish Congress and which provided support for Jewish refugees. After he and his co-manager Gerhart Riegner separated in 1941, Silberschein focused on rescue activities; cf. Zweig-Strauss, Saly Mayer, 191.

109 About Mayer, see above, n. 90.

COMITÉ POUR L'ASSISTANCE A LA POPULATION JUIVE FRAPPÉ PAR LA GUERRE
COMMITTEE FOR RELIEF OF THE WAR-STRICKEN JEWISH POPULATION
KOMITEE ZUR HILFELEISTUNG FÜR DIE KRIEGSBETROFFENE JÜDISCHE BEVÖLKERUNG

K/Bn.

GENÈVE, den 9. August 1944.
7, RUE GAUTIER
TEL. 2.76.60
ADR. TÉLÉGR.: SILBADO

Herrn
Saly Mayer,
Postfach 262,
St. Gallen.

Sehr geehrter Herr Mayer,

Ich möchte heute auf die Angelegenheit Shanghai zurückkommen. Es handelt sich dort um zwölf Familien von Intellektuellen und Journalisten. Mir sind die Namen aller Familien nicht bekannt. Die Gruppe wird jedoch von drei Personen geleitet, nämlich von den Herren Lazar Kahan, Owsiej Rapoport[110] und Jankiel Fischmann,[111] [sic] alle drei bekannte Redakteure an grossen jüdischen Tageszeitungen in Warschau, deren Persönlichkeit Gewähr für die gute Erledigung der uns interessierenden Angelegenheit gibt.

Da die Verteilung der für diese Gruppe bestimmten Hilfsgelder durch die Hicem, Shanghai, erfolgt, genügt es, der Hicem mitzuteilen, dass das Geld für die von den drei genannten Herren geleitete Intellektuellengruppe bestimmt ist.

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110 Yehoshua (Owsiej) Rapaport or Rapoport (1895–1971), born in Białystok, was a well-known literary critic and translator in pre-war Warsaw. He reached Shanghai via Lithuania and Kobe in 1941. In Shanghai he frequently contributed essays to *Nasha zhizn*. After the war, he settled in Australia. Rapoport wrote a Yiddish diary (NLI Archive, Arc. 4°, 410); excerpts have been translated into English and published in Eber, Voices, 91–95.

111 Yankiel (Jacob) Fishman (1891–1965) was an accomplished Yiddish writer from Poland who published a number of short stories in Shanghai, about the city. He left China in 1948, first for Canada and then in 1950 for New York.

Ich habe, da, bei der Erledigung der Sache ja schon eine rechte Verzögerung eingetreten war, zunächst von hier aus den Betrag von Fr. 1200,– durch den VSJF,[112] Zürich, nach Shanghai geschickt und zwar zur Deckung bereits früher eingegangener Verpflichtungen. Ich bitte Sie jedoch um die Freundlichkeit, in Zukunft regelmässig bestimmte Beträge für die genannte Gruppe nach Shanghai zu überweisen und wäre Ihnen recht dankbar, wenn Sie mir, sobald es Ihnen möglich ist, antworten würden, damit ich weiss, ob Sie und in welchem Umfange diesen Leuten helfen werden.
Mit freundlichen Grüssen
{für} Dr. A. Silberstein
{i.A. Kl##.}

112 Verband Schweizerischer Jüdischer Fürsorgen/Flüchtlingshilfen. This organization emerged in 1943 from its predecessor, the Verband Schweizerischer Israelitischer Armenpflegen (VSIA).

Chapter 6
The Shanghai Jewish Exile Press, 1939–1946

Introduction

In works on exile publishing the Shanghai Jewish exile press is barely, if at all, noted. The omission is surprising, because until the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941 a relatively large number of both German and Yiddish papers, even if short-lived, had appeared. Although three years of war ended this rather extensive journalistic activity, two papers and a third one in Hebrew were published during the war years. Before describing this journalistic activity in greater detail, including its difficulties and vicissitudes, it might be good to compare it to the Chinese Shanghai publishing scene generally, though a direct connection cannot be established at this stage.

China was not a stranger to printed periodic papers conveying news, and printing by movable type was known for hundreds of years. The earliest of these papers was the so-called *Peking Gazette* (*dibao* or *jingbao),* published by the imperial court for dissemination to scholar-officials serving in the provinces.[1] It consisted of memorials, imperial edicts, and similar materials, and was not intended for popular consumption. Later there were also provincial papers issued by the provincial administrative offices (*yamen*) in which local official news could be read by lower ranking officials and literate members of the public. Modern Chinese newspapers, that is papers with local advertisements and the like, began appearing in the nineteenth century under the impact of Western colonialism. Clearly, therefore, modern Chinese journalism was a phenomenon of port cites like Hong Kong, Guangzhou (Canton), and Macao and, after the Opium Wars of 1839–1842, the China coast treaty port of Shanghai. It was in Shanghai that lithography workshops, the reprint industry, displaced woodblock printers by the nineteenth century.[2]

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1 It may have appeared as early as the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE); cf. Barbara Mittler, A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Social Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1887–1912, Cambridge Mass. 2000, 25.

2 Christopher A. Reed, Gutenberg in Shanghai. Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937, Vancouver 2004, has an excellent discussion regarding early printing.

Protestant missionary papers had an early role in the development of the modern press,[3] but their work in the 1820s and 1830s must not be overestimated. No doubt the appearance of the *Shenbao* in 1872 heralded the beginning of modern Chinese journalism. Founded by Ernest Major in Shanghai, the paper, however, had a Chinese staff.[4] Other newspapers followed soon thereafter that were also staffed by Chinese and addressed to an increasingly large readership in Shanghai as well as elsewhere. Yet, as Barbara Mittler emphasizes, they were "newspapers of Shanghai," featuring extensive local advertisements, Shanghai affairs, and Shanghai poetry.[5]

Newspapers where one could read about events nearby and far away were becoming an increasing part of the Chinese scene, and among these were also foreign papers. The *North China Herald* was founded already in 1850 as a weekly, and became in the 1860s the *North-China Daily News*. The *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury,* founded in 1929, followed some decades later. Aside from English language papers, German newspapers of longer or shorter duration also appeared in the nineteenth century.[6] The increasing number of both Chinese and foreign language newspaper reflected the growth of Shanghai's population.

Thus by the beginning of the 1930s Shanghai was the indisputable publishing center of China. Not only newspapers: journals, literary journals, and books as well proliferated. Most of the publishing houses were concentrated around Fuzhou Road. Among these, the Commercial Press *(Shangwu yinshu guan),* until badly damaged by Japanese bombs in 1932, was most important. In addition, there were several foreign presses, such as Millington Press and Mercury Press. And the North China Press and Rotary Press, for example, published Russian language books.[7] There were more than three hundred bookstores with new and used, foreign language and Chinese books. In the

3 For this topic, cf. Roswell S. Britton, The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800–1912, Taipei 1966, chapters 2–4.

4 For the British entrepreneur, cf. Rudolf G. Wagner (ed.), Joining the Global Public. Word, Image, and City in Early Chinese Newspapers 1870–1910, Albany N.Y. 2012, 51.

5 Mittler, A Newspaper, 312 f.

6 For a useful background summary, cf. Hartmut Walravens, German Influence on the Press in China, in: 62nd IFLA General Conference, Beijing, China. Conference Proceedings, August 25–31, 1996, 1–5.

7 During a visit to the New York Public Library, Professor Altman found Russian translations of several Yiddish language writers (Yosef Opatoshu, Shimen Frug, and Sholem Asch, among others) published by the two presses.

numerous tea rooms in the area writers could meet and exchange information.[8]

The purpose of this somewhat lengthy digression is to show that when the refugee journalists arrived in Shanghai, whether they were aware or not, they encountered a lively scene of publishing and readers. We shall probably never know if any contacts between Chinese and refugee writers existed in the tea rooms or bookstores, but obviously the infrastructure for publishing existed, meaning paper and ink were available, as were Chinese typesetters who, obviously not knowing foreign languages, could set type by sight. Finally, the machinery, printing presses, existed as well and, without doubt, contacts were had between some refugee journalists and those who wrote for the English language papers.

By 1940 presumably forty Jewish journalists had arrived in Shanghai.[9] The number may not be entirely accurate, yet there is no disputing the fact that this is a fairly large number, which was augmented by several more Yiddish language journalists when the Polish contingent arrived from Japan. But why were newspapers important? Were there not more urgent considerations and needs in this displaced and penniless community where funds for a journalistic enterprise, moreover, were not easily obtained?

Seywald points out correctly that newspapers had been a part of life for these middle-class people before they became refugees.[10] Newspapers that kept them in touch with one another and told them a little of what was happening "out there" might be conducive to help establish some semblance of normalcy in Shanghai. To this might be added that journalism is part of contemporary culture, as Michael Schudson has it.[11] In the case of the Jewish exile press, newspapers, therefore, were a means of each Jewish community asserting its cultural distinctiveness. Secondly, it was a way of earning a living, however skimpy and circumscribed. After all, in Shanghai jobs for German or Yiddish speaking refugees were few and menial employment for "white" men was frowned upon. Finally, some financial help for establishing papers was with a great deal of effort available from several of the committees. No doubt, however, the reason that most papers were short-lived was that they could never become self-supporting from advertisements and sales.

A major problem when dealing with the Shanghai Jewish exile press is that between 1939 and 1942 it is nearly impossible to ascertain for most of

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8 Leo Ou-fan Lee, Shanghai Modern. The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930–1945, Cambridge Mass. 1999, 123–125. Cf. also Seywald, Journalisten, 155.

9 Ibid., 168.

10 Ibid., 78 f.

11 Michael Schudson, The Power of News, Cambridge Mass./London 1995, 2.

the papers how long a run they had. Only some examples are preserved in the archives, and in many cases even the first issue is missing. In addition, the number of pages often varied and what this was due to – whether lack of funds for paper, or other reasons – has not yet been clarified. Still, wherever available, the introductory article, stating the intent of the paper, is presented below. These introductions are of special interest; from them we can learn that the editors had by no means uniform goals in mind for publishing a paper. For example, the intention of the Yiddish paper, *Yedies* (News), was quite different from say *Shanghai-Woche* (Shanghai Week), which already in the introduction cautioned against overly sharp criticism. "We are, after all, guests in a foreign land," wrote Wolfgang Fischer, the editor (Document 117).

The first German language paper addressed to the refugee problem was *Shanghai-Woche*, established by Fischer in March 1939.[12] It was followed in May 1939 by *Gelbe Post* (Yellow Post), published by Adolf Josef Storfer, and a month later by the bi-lingual *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, published by Ossi Lewin. In the next two years six additional German language papers and four Yiddish papers appeared. In addition, there were three medical journals by exiles, one each in English, German, and Chinese, and in 1944 a Hebrew language paper for the orthodox religious public appeared. This extensive journalistic activity came to a halt during the war years, when only two papers remained in print: the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* and *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (Jewish Newspaper). The Russian language paper *Nasha zhizn* (Our Life), together with its English supplement *Our Life*, also continued throughout the war years.

Many journalists wrote for one or another paper and even for several papers.[13] Yet, the papers were not uniform and had for the most part distinctive features, this despite the fact, as Seywald remarks, that they had to maneuver carefully and tactfully in Shanghai's political thicket.[14] Among the papers, the *Gelbe Post* (Yellow Post) was unique.[15] In it Storfer and other journalists wrote about Chinese theater, film, and literature. The nature of Chinese writ-

12 The other German language daily, the *Ostasiatischer Lloyd,* would not be read by the refugees, having by then turned into a Nazi paper.

13 La France (i.e. Ladislaus Frank; c.1890–?), Die Presse der Emigration, in: The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer, 37 (April 1946), 11, gives a detailed account about editors and contributors.

14 Seywald, Journalisten, 80.

15 The seven issues of the *Gelbe Post*, which appeared in 1939 as a bi-monthly, resembled a journal. They were reprinted in Vienna in 1999. In late 1939 its format was changed to more closely resemble that of a newspaper, but it ceased publication shortly thereafter.

ing was explored and aspects of Japanese life were explained. German translations of the works of such writers as Lin Yutang[16] were featured, and there was much useful information about Shanghai life. Articles by He Fangshan[17] dealt with current political matters.

Der Mitarbeiter (The Coworker) was quite a different paper. It included financial news, crossword puzzles and, even for a brief time, world news, advice on how to manage rentals in Shanghai and a page of humor. Prior to the outbreak of the Pacific War journalists could obtain the latest news easily enough from several foreign wire services and news agencies in Shanghai. All this changed, however, when the agencies were closed down. But even in the years before then most journalists exercised caution and self-censorship when reporting on world events, lest they offend the Japanese authorities.[18] During the war years, when only two papers remained, the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* printed no news, its reporting being confined to community events: marriages, births, performances, sport, and the like. Thus it hardly deserves to be called a newspaper. Japanese censorship was evident in the second paper, the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*, which by accepting close censorship continued to appear until 1945.

The arrangement of the documents in this chapter is somewhat different from that of previous chapters. Instead of a chronological arrangement, the first part consists of introductory matter featured in several papers whenever first issues were available. For the second part representative articles and two poems were chosen in order to show the kinds of materials editors wanted to present to their readers.

16 The writer and linguist Lin (1895–1976) had studied at universities in China, the United States, and Europe. His Chinese writings were translated into European languages from the middle of the 1930s on.

17 He (also Ho Feng Shan; 1901–1997) had studied in China and Germany, receiving a Ph.D. from the University of Munich in economics. From 1937 on he worked for the Chinese Consulate in Vienna. Between 1938 and 1940, he issued hundreds of exit visas for Shanghai to Austrian Jews. He was awarded the title "Righteous Among the Nations" by Yad Vashem in 2001.

18 Ibid., 160.

Document 117

Wolfgang Fischer[19]
March 30, 1939
Newspaper editorial, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 1, 1.
Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Zur Einleitung

Es bedarf wohl keines besonderen Hinweises, dass die Gründung dieser Zeitschrift eine dringende Notwendigkeit war. Uns fehlte hier ein deutsch geschriebenes Organ, in dem wir alles das, was uns bewegt und interessiert in Wort und Bild wiedergeben können.

Den Neunmalklugen sei aber gleich gesagt, dass es auch ungeschriebene Gesetze gibt, die gehalten werden müssen. Wir leben hier als Gäste in einem fremden Land, das von Kriegswirren heimgesucht ist und haben dies (und andere Gesichtspunkte!) immer wieder zu berücksichtigen. Ueberlaute Kritik hat übrigens noch niemals grossen Wert gehabt und es sei denen, die alles stets besser wissen wollen, einmal in aller Deutlichkeit gesagt: Disziplin und Radau sind zwei grundverschiedene Begriffe. Tadeln ist sehr leicht, Bessermachen jedoch weitaus schwieriger.

Rom ist bekanntlich auch nicht an einem Tage erbaut worden und auch unsere „Wochen Rundschau" wird langsam, aber sicher ausgebaut bzw. aufgebaut werden. Wir bringen allwöchentlich Tatsachenberichte und Weltpolitik, wir bringen unterhaltende und belehrende Artikel, wir berichten über Sport-, Theater-, Film- und Kunstereignisse, wir bringen einen englisch-deutschen Teil zur Erlernung notwendigster Sprachkenntnisse; wir bringen einen grossen Roman und werden auch in einer Rubrik: „Hier spricht der Leser" unseren Freunden Gelegenheit geben, Wünsche und Anregungen vorzubringen. Ja, wir bitten sogar um eine rege Mitarbeit, wobei wir gleich betonen möchten, dass es für uns keinen Gegensatz Berlin-Wien gibt. Dies ist eine der hier leider zu Tage getretenen Unerfreulichkeiten, die unbedingt im Allgemeininteresse behoben werden muss.

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19 Fischer (1898–1975), who hailed from Berlin, began his journalistic career during World War I in Germany. He came to Shanghai in 1939, and soon after began editing the German weekly *Shanghai-Woche* and working for the paper *8-Uhr Abendblatt*, jobs he continued until 1941. In 1946 he returned to Berlin, where he was active as a film journalist; cf. ibid., 346.

Schaffen wir uns ein Organ, das unserer würdig ist. Wenn alle mithelfen, dann muss dieses Werk gelingen.
Wolfgang Fischer.

Document 118

Enno Bracklo[20] *(German Consulate, Shanghai) to German Embassy, Shanghai*
May 9, 1939
Typewritten letter, 1 page (copy); on the top of the page is a receipt stamp (" May ## 1939") and a handwritten receipt date ("May 12, 1939"). The addressee of the original letter is unknown.
Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.697, reel 17

DEUTSCHES GENERALKONSULAT
SHANGHAI.

Abschrift
f. d. Deutsche Botschaft, Shanghai

B. 283.

den 9. Mai 1939.

Aktz.: Pr. 2 j.
Inhalt: Jüdische Emigranten-Wochenschrift.
„Shanghai Jewish Chronicle."
– 3 Durchschläge
– 1 Anlage

Seit dem 5. ds. Mts.[21] erscheint in Shanghai die jüdische Emigranten-Wochenschrift „Shanghai Jewish Chronicle" in deutscher Sprache mit teilweiser englischer Übersetzung. Das Blatt wird herausgegeben von dem hier nicht näher bekannten staatlosen Juden Osias (Ossi) Lewin und dem am 14. März 1901 in Breslau geborenen, zuletzt in Berlin-Halensee, Johann-Georgstr. 6 wohnhaft gewesenen Juden Ferdinand Kasstan.[22]

Kasstan hat hier vorgesprochen um zu versichern, dass die Zeitschrift sich jeder antideutschen Propaganda enthalten und etwaigen Beschwerden des Generalkonsulates Rechnung tragen werde. Nach den einleitenden Worten in

20 About Bracklo, see ch. 2, n. 34.
21 "Des Monats."
22 Kasstan (c. 1901–1972) was chief editor of and author for the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle* in 1939. After the war he settled in the United States.

der ersten Nummer zu urteilen, von der ich ein Exemplar hier beifüge, ist die Zeitschrift zionistisch eingestellt.

Die Botschaft in China erhält Durchschlag dieses Berichtes ohne Anlage. gez. Bracklo.

Document 119

Reuben David Abraham[23]
August 2, 1940
Newspaper editorial, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, no. 1, 1.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.7

ZUM GRUSS!

Der Ehrenpräsident der Jüdischen Gemeinde Mr. R. D. Abraham,[24] hat ein Geleitwort zur Verfügung gestellt, das in deutscher Uebersetzung wie folgt lautet:

Die Jüdische Gemeinde hat mir die Ehre zuteil werden lassen, mich um ein Geleitwort für die erste Ausgabe des „Jüdischen Nachrichtenblattes" zu bitten, und ich bin glücklich, diese Gelegenheit benutzen zu dürfen, um einige Worte an Sie zu richten.

Die Gründung unserer Gemeinde ist der Schritt zur Verwirklichung eines Gemeinschaftslebens, in welchem wir die Tradition unserer Väter fortpflanzen sollen. (Wenn wir auch die jüngste Vereinigung von Juden in Shanghai sind, so sind wir zahlenmässig doch am stärksten). Angeregt durch dieses Gefühl sollen wir erkennen, dass Selbstachtung untrennbar ist von einem guten Zusammenleben mit unseren Schwestervereinigungen in Shanghai, gleichgültig ob jüdischer oder nichtjüdischer Art.

Unser Ziel ist, unserer Gemeinschaft zu dienen und unsere Mitglieder fühlen zu lassen, dass, obwohl weit entfernt von ihrem Heimatland, trotzdem das enge Band des geistigen Judentums ihre Erbschaft ist, eine Erbschaft, welche verspricht, ihr Leben zu bereichern und zu verschönen [sic]. Wir sind ein Volk, ausgestattet mit geistiger Stärke und obwohl wir die Wichtigkeit materiellen Segens erkennen, können wir auf ihn doch verzichten, wenn Anlass

23 About Abraham, see ch. 3, n. 75.

24 Photo on the left margin of the article, with a caption that reads "With compliments of Mr. R. D. Abraham."

dazu vorliegt. Das ist das Gefühl, mit dem ich Euch, meine Brüder, aufrufe, fortzupflanzen die Würde und Ehre Israels. Es ist in Euren Händen, unseren Namen zu verbessern oder zu verderben. Es liegt deshalb an Euch, vorbildlich zu sein in Eurer Führung, tolerant, höflich und geduldig. Wenn Euch das gelingt, erst dann werdet Ihr wirklich stolz sein, denn die Fackel, die man Euch gereicht hat, wird hell und glänzend brennen.

Bei diesem Anlass müssen wir uns erinnern an die Güte unserer Brüder in England und Amerika, die uns zu Hilfe gekommen sind, sowie der nichtjüdischen und jüdischen Vereinigungen in Shanghai, die uns ihr beachtliches Wohlwollen gezeigt haben. Wir schulden Dankbarkeit allen hiesigen Behörden und Autoritäten. Wir danken den japanischen Marine- und Armeebehörden, die wiederholt unsere religiöse [sic] Veranstaltungen mit ihrem Besuch beehrten, sowie der gesamten Bevölkerung Shanghais, mit welcher wir zusammenleben. Mit diesem Gedanken schliesse ich mein Vorwort.

„Seid stark und guten Mutes, auf dass der Segen des Allmächtigen auf Euch ruhe und Euch beglücke!"
R. D. Abraham
Ehrenpräsident der Jüdischen Gemeinde

Document 120

Anonymous[25]
November 22, 1940
Newspaper editorial, in: Der Mitarbeiter,[26] *no. 1, 1.*
Microfilm; HCL, Judaica Collection, reel 96–270226061

Der Mitarbeiter stellt sich vor

Der Mitarbeiter bin ich genannt,
Will wirken und helfen als foerderndes Band.

Dem ersten bringe ich „Kurze Berichte",
Dem zweiten den Ablauf der Weltgeschichte.

25 Possibly written by Arthur Kornik from Berlin (also Document 155), see the next note.
26 The weekly *Der Mitarbeiter* was a short-lived periodical, appearing between September 9, 1940 and January 10, 1941; its publisher was Arthur Kornik; cf. Seywald, Journalisten, 319.

Dem dritten zeig ich den Weg zum Glueck,
Den vierten fuehr ich zu Goethe zurueck.

Den fuenften lehr ich die Kunst der Bilanz,
Dem sechsten zeig ich der Sterne Glanz.

Den siebenten fessle ich durch den Roman,
Dem achten erzaehl ich von Konten-Plan.

Der neunte und zehnte lernt Englisch durch mich,
Der elfte den dreizehnten Bridge-Kartenstich.

Der zwoelfte, – das weiss ich nicht ganz genau,
Der zwoelfte, – das ist naemlich eine Frau.

Und Frau'n sind die besten Mitarbeiter,
Wer sie hat, so heisst's, kommt am sichersten weiter.

Das galt in der Heimat seit langem schon,
Das gilt erst recht in der Emigration.

Und wenn mich die Frauen erst wohl aufgenommen,
Dann werde ich sicher zum Ziele kommen.

So hoff ich, ich werd auch den Frauen gefallen,
Vielleicht recht vielen, vielleicht auch allen.

Drum bitt ich auch Sie um geneigtes Interesse,
Gleich unten, da steht meine volle Adresse.

Somit verbleib ich Ihr stets bereiter,
Allzeit getreuer.
Der Mitarbeiter

Document 121

Anonymous
May 2, 1941
Newspaper editorial, in: Unzer lebn, no. 1, 1.
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די ערשטע יודישע צייטשריפט אין שאנכאי

אין דעם ווייטען שאנכאי, טויזענטער קילאמעטער ווייט פון די גרויסע יודישע ישובים, ערשיינט היינט צום ערשטען מאל א יודישע צייטשריפט. געדרוקט מיט אונזערע היימישע פיר-קאנטיקע יודישע אותיות. מיט 18 יאהר צוריק איז אין כארבין ערשינען א יודישע צייטונג "דער ווייטער מזרח", נאך א געוויסער צייט איז די צייטונג געווען געצוואונגען זיך צו שליסען, היינט בעגייען מיר דעם פרואוו פון געבען דעם היגען יודישען לעזער א צייטשריפט אויף דער יודישער שפראך. מיר טוען דאס אין א טראגישער צייט. ווען די וועלט איז איינגעהילט אין פלאמען פון קריג, ווען דאס אמאליגע ברויזיגע יודישע לעבען אין אייראפע ליגט צעשמעטערט אין חורבות, ווען מיליאנען פון אונזערע ברידער שמא־כטען אין פיין און אין שאנד, ווען אונזער יודישע לאגע אין דער וועלט קאן פערגליכען ווערען נאר צו דער לאגע נאכן חורבן ירושלים.

מיר, יודען אויפן ווייטען מזרח, זיינען דערווייל געשוינט געווארען דורכן גורל, דער גרויל פון דער צייט האט נאכנישט אנגעקלאפט אין אונזערע טירען. אבער צי קאן אונז רוהיג בעקומען אונזער טעגליך ברויט צו דער זעט, ווען ארום אונז איז אזא ריזיגער ים פון אומגעהויערע מענשליכע ליידען? צי קאנען מיר פערבלייבען גלייכגילטיג צום גורל פון אונזערע פאלקס-ברידער, וואס געהען אב אין א ים פון בלוט און טרעהרען?

מיר קאנען נישט טראגען קיין גרויסע הילף. אבער דאס, וואס מיר קאנען יא – איז – על כל פנים וויסען וועגען דעם פערנעם פון דער קאטאסטראפע, טיילען די טראגעדיע פון אונזער פאלק, וואס איז אויך אונזער אייגענע טראגעדיע. דער הויפטצוועק פון אונזער צייטשריפט איז דעריבער: פערבינדען ענגער און פעסטער דעס קליינעם יודישען ישוב אויפן ווייטען מזרח מיט דער איבעריגער יודישער וועלט. אהן א פערבינדונג מיט דעם ברייטען טראגישען יודישען לעבען שטעלען מיר פאר מיט זיך בלויז א פערדארט צווייגעל אויף א גרויסען בוים, וואס איז פערמשפט פערטריקענט צו ווערען און אומצוקומען.

קליין און ארעם איז דערווייל דער פערנעם פון דער יודישער צייטשריפט, אבער מיר רעכענען אויף די יעניגע שאנכייער יודען, וואס זיינען פערבונדען מיטן יודישען וואלט, אז זיי וועלען אונז העלפען אויסברייטערן אט-די אויסגאבע און פערוואנדלען זי אין אן אמתער טריבונע פון ארגאניזירטען יודישען קיבוץ אין גרעסטען צענטער פון יודישען לעבען אויפן ווייטען מזרח – אין שאנכאי.

Translation

The First Yiddish Periodical in Shanghai

Today, in far away Shanghai, thousands of kilometers from the large Jewish communities, a new Yiddish paper makes its first appearance, printed with our familiar four-corner Yiddish letters. Eighteen years ago, a Yiddish paper, *Der vayter mizrekh*,[27] appeared in Harbin. The paper had to close down after a short time. Today we endeavor to give to the local Yiddish reader a periodical in the Yiddish language. We are doing this at a tragic time, when the world is enveloped in flames of war, when the once thriving Jewish life in Europe lies smashed in ruin, when millions of our brothers languish in anguish and disrepute, when our Jewish condition in the world can be compared only with the ancient destruction of Jerusalem.

We Jews in the Far East are meanwhile spared by fate. The horror of the times has not yet knocked at our doors. But can we peacefully eat our daily bread with this gigantic human suffering all around us? Can we remain indifferent to the fate of our brothers, who exist in an ocean of blood and tears?

We cannot offer great help, but what we can do is above all to know about the distant catastrophe, and to share the tragedy of our people, which is also our own tragedy. The main purpose of our paper is, therefore, to forge a stronger and closer connection between our small Jewish community in the Far East and the rest of the Jewish world. Without connection with the broader, tragic Jewish life we represent only a withered little branch on a large tree that is in danger of drying up and perishing.

The reach of this Yiddish paper is small and poor, but we count on those Shanghai Jews who have an attachment to the Yiddish word, who want to help us enlarge the issue and to change it into a true platform for the Jewish community in the biggest center of Jewish life in the Far East – in Shanghai.

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27 *Der vayter mizrekh* (The Far East) was printed from 1921 to 1922; it appeared three times a week. Its editor was Meir Birman, who shaped it as a left-leaning newspaper similar to the New York periodical *Forverts*; cf. Robert Bickers/Christian Henriot (eds.), New Frontiers. Imperialism's New Communities in East Asia, 1842–1953, Manchester 2000, 101 f., 107.

Document 122

Heinz Ganther[28]
June 14, 1941
Newspaper editorial, in: Die Laterne. Unabhaengige Wochenschrift für freies geistiges Schaffen,[29] *no. 1, 1.*
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.6

Was will „Die Laterne"?

„Die Laterne" will in das Dunkel der Immigration hineinleuchten. Sie will versuchen, dadurch auch etwas mehr Licht in die Schattenseiten der Immigration zu bringen. Damit soll nicht gesagt sein, dass „Die Laterne" sich zur Aufgabe macht, nur das Düstere in den Reihen unserer Immigration zu sehen oder zu beleuchten. Im Gegenteil, „Die Laterne" will vor allen Dingen das Positive unseres Immigranten-Daseins besonders beleuchten. Sie wird sich jedoch keineswegs abschrecken lassen, auch dort ihren Lichtkegel hinzuwerfen, wo manche vielleicht glauben, im Verborgenen, nicht immer gerade zum Nutzen unserer Immigranten, wirken zu können. „Die Laterne" beabsichtigt keinesfalls, jeden Winkel eines jeden Hauses abzuleuchten, um irgendetwas mit Gewalt ans Licht zu bringen. „Die Laterne" hat einzig und allein das Bestreben, im Interesse einer gesunden geistigen und kulturellen Weiterentwickelung unserer gesamten Immigration zu wirken. „Die Laterne" will von Anfang an nicht als Konkurrenz irgendeiner der bestehenden Zeitungen betrachtet werden. Sie legt grösten [sic] Wert darauf, mit ihnen und deren Mitarbeitern in kollegialer Weise zusammenzuarbeiten zum Wohle Aller. „Die Laterne" erhebt lediglich den Anspruch, in jeder Beziehung das zum Ausdruck bringen zu dürfen, was sie im allgemeinen Interesse für notwendig hält. Hierbei wird sie allerdings keine Rücksicht auf irgendwelche persönlichen Dinge nehmen und sich durch keine irgendwie gearteten Umstände und Beziehungen beeinflussen lassen. Eine besondere Aufgabe hat sich „Die

28 About Ganther, see ch. 3, n. 134.

29 It is not clear when exactly in 1941 *Die Laterne* ceased publication. Each issue of about 12 to 16 pages contained features about events in Europe, including sports, bridge, and entertainment, and regular columns entitled "The Free Mind," "Echo Across the Sea," and "From Our Cultural Creativity;" cf. Itamar Livni, The German Jewish Immigrant Press in Shanghai, in: Raoul David Findeisen et al. (eds.), At Home in Many Worlds. Reading, Writing and Translating from Chinese and Jewish Cultures – Essays in Honour of Irene Eber, Wiesbaden 2009, 273–283, here 277.

Laterne“ damit gestellt, ihren Lichtkegel auch über die Länder und Meere zu senden, um die Immigrationen in anderen Ländern zu beleuchten, damit auch wir hier daraus lernen können. Sie hofft, auf diese Weise auch einen Kontakt mit den überall verstreuten Emigranten zu finden, um Erfahrungen untereinander auszutauschen und der Allgemeinheit zum Nutzen zu machen. Hierbei dürfen wir keinesfalls zu schwach sein, in Offenheit das zu sagen, was wir denken. Wir Immigranten hier in Shanghai sollten nunmehr schon so viel Selbstbewusstsein besitzen, um ein offenes Wort sowohl aussprechen, wie auch einstecken zu können. Auf der anderen Seite muss man uns einem Gebilde von 18 000 Seelen auch das Recht zuerkennen, ein offenes Wort sagen zu dürfen, ohne dass man uns hierbei den Vorwurf macht, dass wir nur kritisieren wollen. Jeder verantwortungsbewusste Mensch, ob Immigrant oder nicht, dürfte oder sollte wenigstens das Bestreben haben, nicht nur sich selbst, sondern der Gesamtheit zu nützen. Ihm darf es nicht verwehrt sein, durch ein offenes oder vielleicht zu offenes Wort dem allgemeinen Interesse zu dienen. Wenn wir mit klaren Augen durch die Welt gehen und die Dinge so sehen, wie sie sind und nicht so, wie wir oder Andere sie sehen möchten, werden wir vielleicht auch entdecken, wieso manche Mängel entstanden sind. Jeder, der den Willen hat, mitzuhelfen am weiteren Aufbau unserer Immigration, gleich auf welchen [sic] Gebiet, soll uns willkommener Helfer sein. Jeder kann auf diese Weise Mitarbeiter unserer Redaktion werden. Macht in dem düsteren Shanghai keinen Schritt ohne „Die Laterne“; denn „Die Laterne“ wird auch keinen Schritt gehen ohne Euch.
Heinz Ganther

Document 123

Y. R.
November 1941
Journal editorial, in: In Veg. Zamlheft[30] *[On the Way. Collection], 2 f.*
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1855.5

אין וועג

אין מיטן פון א געצוווונגענער טראגישער וועלט־רייזע, – פון ווארשע קיין ווארשע, – האט א גרופּע יידישע שרייבער און זשורנאליסטן אויפגעשלאגן איר וואנדער־לאגער אויף א קורצער צייט אין שאנכיי.

און מיר ווילן דא קומען צום ווארט.

דאס איז אזוי נאטירלעך: אין צייטווייליקסטן, אומבאקווועמסטן וואנדער־לאגער כאפּט מען אפּ דעם אטעם, און אונזער אטעם־אפּכאפּן איז דער ווארט־אויסדרוק.

מיר זענען דא קליין אין צאל און – צו וואס לייקענען? – שוואך אין כּחות. מיר מאכן זיך נישט קיין אילוזיעס און מיר ווילן זיי נישט אריסרופן אויך ביי אנדערע: ביי אונזערע ליטעראריש און מאטעריעלע כחות, אין די היגע שווערע קלימאטישע באדינגונגען, קאנען מיר נישט האפּן צו זאגן אלץ, וואס מיר האבן צו זאגן און וואס וואלט געדארפט געזאגט ווערן. אבער ווי ארעם אונזער וואָרט זאל נישט זיין, זענען מיר עס שולדיק קודם כל זיך גופּא. דאס איז א בארעכטיגטער פארלאנג אויסצופֿרובירן אונזער ווארט־אינסטרומענט, איבערצייגן זיך גופּא, אז מיר לעבן נאך, אז מיר פירן מיט זיך מיט אומבאריט אונזערע טיפּסטע וואָרצלען און פּון צייט צו צייט קאנען זיי נאך, אפּילו ביי די ערגסטע קלימאטישע באדינגונגען, ארויסטרייבן אויף דער ליכטיקער שיין שפּראצונגען.

דאס דאזיקע ווארט, ווי אנעמיש עס זאל נישט ארויסקומען (אן טיפּן באדן און אן מא־מעדיקער זון!), זענען מיר שולדיק זיך גופּא, אי אלס פּסיכאלאגישע איינשפּריצונג, אי אלס סימבאלישן גראשן, וואס ווערט אנערקענט יעדן געליטענעס, וואס האט צופּיל געליטן, מען זאל אים קאנען אומקערן זיין שאדן אין דער פּולער מאס.

אויב דער דאזיקער סימבאלישער גראשן וועט אנדערע אויך עפּעס געבן, וועלן מיר זיין גאר צופֿרידן, אבער קודם כל איז דער איצטיקער זאמלבוך א אינערלעכע נויטווענדיקייט אין א סך א גרעסערער מאס, ווי דאס איז תמיד דאס עכטע געדרוקטע וואָרט.

געדענקט איר נאך היינריך היינעס געדיכט וועגן קינד, וואס זינגט אין דער פינסטער, כדי צו פארטרייבן די שרעק?

30 The title page informs the reader that the journal was "*aroysgegebn durkh der farayni-kung fun di yidishe shrayber un zhurnalistn, pleytim fun Poyln*" (published by the Association of Yiddish Writers and Journalists, Refugees from Poland); cf. also Krasno, Strangers, 192.

ווער נויטיקט זיך נאך ווי מיר אין פארטרייבן די שרעק, די שאטנס פון טויט, די דעמא־
ראליזאציע פון וואגל־זועגן און פון דער אוממעגלעכקייט נארמאל צו ארבעטן ?
|3| מיר גופא זענען דאך די גרעסטע גייסטיקע נצרכים !
אין די אלע, וועלכע האבן אונז פארשאפט די מעגלעכקייט צו געבן זיך גופא דעם
סימבאלישן אנטשעדיקונגס־גראשן – אונזער אויפריכטיקסטן דאנק. זיי האבן אונז מעגלעך
געמאכט א כלומרשטן לוקסוס, וואס איז אין דער אמתן א נויטוועדיקייט – זיך אויסלעבן
אביסל גייסטיק.
לא על הלחם לבדו יחיה האדם !
סיידן ער וועדט אויס מענטש.
און קעגן דעם פירן מיר אויף אונזער וואנדער־וועג דעם שוועדסטן קאמף : קעגן דעם
ארום און קעגן זיך קופא.
דער איצטיקער זאמלהעפט איז איינער פון די אויסדרוקן פון דאזיקן קאמף.
י. ר.

Translation

On the Way

In the midst of a forced and tragic world journey – from Warsaw to Warsaw – a group of Yiddish writers and journalists has erected a temporary travel camp in Shanghai.

And we want to have a say.

This is natural. In a temporary and uncomfortable traveling camp one catches one's breath. And our breath catching is verbal expression.

We number a few and we are – why deny it? – weak, without strength. We have no illusions and we don't want to call forth these in others; considering our literary and material resources under these difficult local climatic conditions, we cannot hope to say everything we have to say and what is allowed to be said. But no matter how poor our words will be, we first of all owe it to ourselves. It is a justified demand to try out our verbal ability, to convince ourselves that we are still alive, that we have brought along our unspoiled deepest roots. And from time to time they still can even under the worst climatic conditions bring forth sprouts in bright light.

We owe to ourselves this very word, no matter how anemic it appears (deep in the soil without real sunshine!), be it psychological infusion, be it symbolical coin, it shall acknowledge every suffering, everybody who has already suffered too much; it shall compensate the damage in its entirety.

If the symbolic coin will give others something, we will be satisfied. But first and foremost, the present collection is in large measure an inner necessity, as is always the truthful printed word.

Do you still remember the poem by Heinrich Heine about the child that sings in the dark to drive away terror?[31]

Who, more than we, needs to drive away terror, the shadow of death, the demoralization of the path where we wandered, and the impossibility of working in a normal way?

|3| It is us who have the greatest spiritual needs!

Our utmost thanks to all those who afforded us the possibility to give to ourselves this coin of compensation. They made a veritable luxury possible for us – a real necessity indeed – to live life with a little spiritual content.

Man lives not by bread alone!

Unless he is no longer human.

And this is our fiercest battle on the path we walk: against the surroundings and against ourselves.

The present collection is one manifestation of this battle.

Y. R.

Document 124

Anonymous (editorial staff of Yedies)
November 1941
Newspaper editorial, in: Yedies. Vokhnblat far di interesn fun di poylishn krigs-pleytim[32] *[News. Weekly for the Interests of Polish War Refugees], no.1, 1.*
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; HCL, 4071, reel 1

וואס ווילן מיר?

אונזער קליינע באשיידענע ארבעט באטראכטן מיר ניט פאר קיין גרויס געשעניש און פאר קיין היסטארישע דערשיינונג געוויס נישט. איינס אבער גלויבן מיר יא: דער צוקונפ־טיקער היסטאריקער פון די יידיש־פוילישע באציאונגען וועט זיך מיט אונזער אויסגאבע אן א ספק פאראינטערעסירן.

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31 Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) was a major German poet. Born to Jewish parents, he converted to Protestantism in 1825. The poem alluded to is Heine's *In mein gar zu dunkles Leben* (1823), included in *Buch der Lieder* (1827); cf. Manfred Windfuhr (ed.), Heinrich Heine. Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke, vol. 1,1, Hamburg 1975, 206.

32 The secular weekly was probably conceived as a bilingual Yiddish and Polish paper.

ווען עס וועט ארייַנפאלן אין זיין האנט א נומער פון אונזערע "ידיעות", וועט דער היסטאריקער אפשר זיינע אויגן נישט קאנען אפרייסן פון דער צייטונג. ער וועט קוקן אויף די פוילישע און אויף די יידישע אותיות און זיך וואונדערן, הויבן מיט די אקסלען און זיך פרעגן פארחידושט: ווי איז מעגליך געווען אזא וואונדער? פויליש און יידיש אונטער איין דאך? יידישע אותיות פון דער רעכטער זייט באגעגנען זיך מיט פוילישע בוכשטאבן פון דער לינקער זייט? נאכמער, זיי דערלאנגען זיך סימבאליש די הענט און גיסן זיך צונויף אין א הארמאניש ווארט־געזאנג פאר איין געמיינזאמער טייערער זאך, פאר איין בשותפותדיקער הייליקער מיסיע — פאר דער ענדגילטיקער באפרייאונג פון פוילן.

"פאר אונזער און פאר אייער פרייהייט" — איז שוין אמאל געווען א היסטארישער לאזונג, וואס האט צעמענטירט און באפליגלט אפילו געגנגעזעצטע עלעמענטן. אט דער הייליקער ציל — די באפרייאונג פון פוילן — קען און וועט, אויך היינט, וואונדער באווייזן!

* * *

אונזער היימלאנד ליגט אין חורבות. ברוינע שטיוול צעטרעטן מיט א נישט־געוועזענער גרויזאמקייט אלץ, וואס איז מענטשלעך און וויל אטעמען און לעבן פריי. די נעכטיקע פרייע בירגער פון אומאפהענגיקן פוילן זענען דערדריקט און דערשטיקט, פארשקלאפט און פארפייניקט. מיט פייער און בלוט, מיט רשעות און סאדיזם, וויל דער ברוטאלער אקראפאנט באפעסטיקן זיין הערשאפט איבער פוילן, עס גלוסט זיך אים צו פארשניידן, אויסצואווארצלען און צו פארטיליקן יעדן איינציקן פוילישן בירגער, וואס האט די "העזע" צו חלומען וועגן א ניי אויפגעריכט פוילן.

אין אזא מאמענט מוזן אפגעשטעלט ווערן אלע קאמפן צווישן איין פוילישן בירגער און דעם צווייטן. אלע חשבונות מוזן פארגעסן ווערן. אלע מוזן זיך דערלאנגען די הענט און מארשירן געאייניקט, אין געשלאסענע רייען, קעגן בלוטיקן שונא ביזן ענדגילטיקן זיג פון דער גערעכטיקייט.

די רואינירטע און פארמאטערטע פאליאקן פון יענער זייט געטא האבן שוין אויסגעשטרעקט זייער האנט פון פארברידערונג און שלום די געפייניקטע און געשענדעטע יידן פון געטא. פוילישע פרויען האבן דעם לעצטן ראש־השנה אריבערגעווארפן איבער די וואנט פון געטא גרויסע בוקעטן לעבעדיקע בלומען און אן א שיעור גרינסן. דאס האט געהייסן:

— יידן, מיר זענען מיט אייך, מיר זענען געאייניקט און צונויפגעבונדן אין אונזער געמיינזאמען קאמף.

די דאזיקע הערלעכע פארברודערונגס־פרווון צווישן די געפייניקטע איינוווינער פון ווארשע מוזן נאכגעטון ווערן דורך אלע פוילישע בירגער — וואו זיי זאלן נישט זיין און וואו זיי זאלן זיך נישט געפינען אין איצטיקן מאמענט.

די אויפגאבע פון אונזער צייטונג וועט זיין די דאזיקע דערהויבענע היטערלעכע אידיי — פון געמיינזאמען קאמף פון אלע פוילישע בירגער — צו פארשפרייטן צווישן די פליטים פון פוילן אין שאנכיי.

די מענטשהייט מוז און וועט באקומען אן אנדער פנים. אלע מוזן זיין פריי. גלייכהייט מוז הערשן פאר אלעמען, אן אונטערשיד פון נאציע, רעליגיע און קלאס. דאס איז די פאן, וואס מיר טראגן הויך אויף אונזער וואנדער־וועג און מיט וועלכער מיר ווילן זיך אויך אומקערן א היים.

און אויב אונזער צייטונג וועט געלינגען צו פארגרעסערן די קאדרן פון אזעלכע פאנעןטרעגער, וועלן מיר עס האלטן פאר א וויכטיקע און גרויסע דערגרייכונג.

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מיר זענען א צייטונג פאר פּליטים, וואס האבן פארלאזט פוילן אין אנהויב פון איצטיקן קריג. מיר וועלן זיך נישט פארנעמען מיט קיין אבסטראקטע פראבלעמען. מיר וועלן נישט באהאנדלען קיין דראסטישע פאליטישע פראגן. מיר וועלן אויך אויסמיידן אלע פונקטן, וואס קאנען צעשיידן און צעטיילן. מיר ווילן נאר זוכן יענע באירונגס־פונקטן פון אונזער שוועכן לעבן, וואס קאנען פארבינדן, פאראייניקן און סטימולירן צו א הארמאנישער צוזא־מענארבעט.

מיר וועלן אביעקטיוו, ערלעך און אומפארטייאיש באהאנדלען אלע פראגן, וואס שווימען ארויס פון אונזער איצטיקן פּליטים־לעבן.

דעם הויפּט־ארט אין אונזער צייטונג וועלן מיר אפּגעבן, פאר אינפארמאציע. און אינ־פארמירן סאליד, ערנסט און פּראנטווארטלעך. און כדי יעדער פּליט זאל קאנען ארויסזאגן זיין מיינונג אין א פיינער, טאקטפולער פארם פירן מיר איין א ### ###[33] טריבונע. פאלע־מיק באפרוכפערט די געדאנקען. קריטיק מאכט געזונט יעדע ארבעט. עס מוז אבער איינג־עהאלטן ווערן די פארם פון קעגנזייטיקער אכטונג און סאלידער באציונג פון איינעם צום צווייטן.

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נישט איינער וועט אפשר פרעגן: צו וואס טויג א צייטונג פאר פּליטים? שטרעבן דאך אלע פּליטים אין שאנכיי וואס גיכער צו פארלאזן די שטאט און וואס שנעלער צוצושווימען צו א ברעג פון אזא לאנד, ווו מען זאל קאנען איבערווארטן.

יא, דאס איז ריכטיק. אלע ווילן מיר וואס פריער באקומען די מעגלעכקייט ווייטער צו פארן. אבער כל־זמן מיר זענען אין שאנכיי דארפן מיר נישט בלייבן פאסיוו צו אונזערע בא־דערפענישן און זיין אומפּראדוקטיוו געזעלשאפטלעך. אומעטום, ווו מיר זאלן נישט זיין, אפילו די קורצסטע צייט, טארן מיר זיך נישט פילן ווי לעסטיקע געסט, נאר ווי מענטשן, וואס האבן זייער מענטשלעכע ווירדע נישט פארלוירען. מיר דארפן זיין גרייט צו ווירקן אומעטום ווי פּראדוקטיווע מענטשן און זיך אויך גייסטיק און קולטורעל אויסצולעבן.

אין שאנכיי האבן מיר די מעגלעכקייט פריי זיך אויסצולעבן און צו שאפן אן שום שטערונגען. דארפען מיר באווייזן, אז מיר זענען נישט קיין צעבראכענע שארבענס, קיין אויסגעטריקנטע סקעלעטן פון געוועזענע לעבעדיקע מענטשן, נאר אז מיר באזיצן א שטא־לערנעם ווילן, נאך אלע גרויליקע און טראגישע איבערלעבונגען, צו בלייבן לעבעדיקע און שעפּערישע מענטשן.

אט דער אומדערשיטערטער ווילן האט אונז נישט איינמאל דערמוטיקט אויף אונזער געפּארפולן וואנדער־וועג און וועט אונז אויך ווייטער באפליגלען, וואו מיר וועלן זיך נאר געפינען, צו פּראדוקטיוער ארבעט און צום הערראישן קאמף פאר דער אויפּריכטונג פון אונזער היימלאנד.

און ווען אונזער בלאט וועט קאנען מיטהעלפן צו קרעפּטיקן און באפעסטיקן אט דעם ווילן – וועט אונזער ציל זיין דערגרייכט. מיר וועלן דעמאלט קאנען זאגן מיט א רואיק געוויסן: די ארבעט האט געלוינט, מיר האבן עפּעס אויפּגעטון, פאזיטיווס געשאפן!

די רעדאקציע

33 Page torn.

Translation

What Do We Want?

We do not regard our small, modest work as a big event, and certainly not as a historical happening. One thing, however, we believe: future historians of Jewish-Polish relations will, without doubt, be interested in our publication.

When an issue of our *Yedies* will come into his hands, the historian may be unable to tear his eyes away from the newspaper. He will look at the Polish and Yiddish letters and will wonder. He will shrug his shoulders and ask astonished, how was such a miracle possible? Polish and Yiddish together? Yiddish letters from the right side meet Polish letters from the left side? Even more, they reach out to one another symbolically and flow together in a harmonious word-song about a mutually precious matter, for a joint holy mission: the final liberation of Poland.

"For our freedom and yours" – this has been a historical slogan before, and it solidified and spurred even opposed elements.[34] The holy aim – the liberation of Poland – can and will, even today, work wonders.

***

Our fatherland is in ruin. Brown boots trample down everything that is human, that wants to breathe and live in freedom, with unprecedented cruelty. Yesterday's free citizens of independent Poland are crushed and suffocated, enslaved and tormented. The brutal occupier strengthens his dominance over Poland with fire and blood, with viciousness and sadism; he lusts to excise it, to uproot and to exterminate each and every Polish citizen who has the "boldness" to dream about a re-established Poland.

At such times all battles between one Polish citizen and another must cease. All unsettled accounts between them must be forgotten. They all must grasp one another's hands and march together in closed ranks against the blood-stained enemy until the final victory of justice.

Ruined and tormented Poles from the other side of the ghetto already extended hands of brotherhood and peace to the tortured and violated ghetto Jews. Last Rosh Hashanah Polish women threw large bouquets of fresh flowers and a portion of vegetables over the ghetto wall. The meaning of it was:

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34 This famous political slogan (Pol. Za naszą i waszą wolność) originated from the November uprising in partitioned Poland against the Russian Empire (1830–1831); the slogan demanded Polish liberty.

– Jews, we are with you, we are united and connected in our common fight.

This magnificent evidence of fraternization between the tormented inhabitants of Warsaw must be reproduced by all Polish citizens – where they are now and where they should not be in this moment.

The future task of our newspaper is to spread this noble, emboldening idea of a common struggle of all Polish citizens among the Polish refugees in Shanghai.

Humanity must and will show another face. Everyone must be free. Above all, equality must reign among nations, religions, and classes. This is the banner that we carry on our road and with which we return home.

We consider it an important and grand achievement if our newspaper will enlarge the ranks of such standard bearers.

* * *

We are a newspaper for refugees who left Poland at the beginning of this war. We don't want to occupy ourselves with abstract problems. We don't want to deal with dramatic political questions. We also want to avoid all aspects that can be divisive. We only want to look for those issues of our difficult lives which are shared by all, which can connect, unite, and stimulate a harmonious togetherness. We want to deal objectively, honestly and impartially with all questions which arise from our present refugee life.

The main object of our paper is to convey information, solidly, seriously, and responsibly. And in order that every refugee can state his views in a dignified and tactful way we are introducing a ### ### tribune. Polemics may fertilize the thoughts. Criticism is healthy for every kind of work. But the forms of mutual respect and good manners must be maintained.

* * *

More than one person may ask, what is the point of a newspaper for refugees? After all, all refugees in Shanghai strive to leave the city, and the sooner the better, to swim as soon as possible to the shore of any country where one can wait and see.

Yes, that is correct. We all want to travel on – the earlier the better. But as long as we are in Shanghai we cannot passively face our needs and remain socially unproductive. Wherever we are forced to stay, even for the shortest period, we must not feel like unwelcome guests but like human beings who have not lost their human dignity. We must be prepared to act everywhere like productive human beings and to express ourselves spiritually and culturally.

In Shanghai we have the possibility to live freely and to work without any interference. We can prove that we are not broken pieces, not dry skeletons of once alive human beings. Only if we have an iron will after all our terrible and tragic experiences can we remain alive and productive.

Thank to our unshakable will we haven't once been discouraged on our dangerous road, and this will will continue to fire our productive work and our heroic struggle to re-establish our homeland, wherever we may be.

And if our paper should help strengthen and affirm our will – our goal will be reached. At that time we shall be able to say with a clear conscience: the work was worth it, we have accomplished something positive!
The editorial staff

Document 125

Wolfgang Fischer[35]
May 28, 1942
Newspaper editorial, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 1, 1.
Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Unsere Tendenz

Erstmalig erscheint heute, nach längerer Unterbrechung, wieder die „Shanghai-Woche", das erste Organ unserer Gemeinschaft hier im Fernen Osten. Die Zeiten haben es so mit sich gebracht, dass aus einer täglich erscheinenden Abendzeitung wieder eine Wochenschrift wurde. Selbst diese erscheint in verkleinertem Umfange. Wir werden uns bemühen, Quantität durch Qualität zu ersetzen. Die wichtigen Tagesereignisse politischer Art sind ja schliesslich aus der Mogenzeitung [sic] zu ersehen. Wir sollen nicht „in Literatur" machen, sondern in allgemein verständlicher Schreibweise alle interessanten Dinge des täglichen Lebens, alle Dinge, die uns interessieren, inbesonedre [sic] die Kunst und den Sport darlegen. Wir sind vollkommen unabhängig und werden, falls das Interesse der Allgemeinheit dies erheischt, wie immer in den dreieinhalb Jahren, vor einem offenem [sic] Wort niemals zurückschrecken. Wir hoffen, damit eine Lücke auf journalistichem [sic] Gebiet auszufüllen und erbitten gleichzeitig die Unterstützung Aller, denn nur dann kann das Werk, der erhoffte Ausbau der Zeitung gelingen. Die Zeitschrift erscheint vorläufig, das heisst in den Sommermonaten, abwechselnd vier und sechs Seiten stark. Indem ich nochmals Allen, die das Herauskommen der Zeitung durch ihre Beihilfe bei der Veranstaltung „Eine Zeitung wird

35 About Fischer, see above, n. 19.

geboren“ ermöglichten, schönsten Dank sage, übergebe ich das Blatt der Oeffentlichkeit. Auf eine bessere, glückliche Zukunft!
Wolfgang Fischer
Herausgeber und Chefredakteur

Document 126

Anonymous[36] *(editorial staff of Me'or Torah)*
July 1944
Newspaper editorial, in: Me'or Torah. Kovez̤ le-ḥidushei torah be-inyanei halakhah [Expounder of the Torah. Collection of Explanations of the Lore on Halakhic Issues], no. 1, 1.
Hebrew; translation by Itamar Livni
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1855.10

לראשית הופעת ה״מאור תורה״

הקובץ הנוכחי נועד לחד״ת[37] בעניני הלכה. מגמתו לחדש ולהמשיך את אשר החלו טובי הירחונים וקובצים לחד״ת, במקום מוצאנו פולין (כמו: ״אהל תורה״ <ברנוביץ>, ״כנסת ישראל״ <וילנא> ועוד.) ואם אז בשנות השופי מצאו גדולי התורה להכרח. יסוד ירחונים וקובצים לחד״ת – מה מאד גדל ערכם וחשיבותם בימינו אלה, שעת הפיזור ושעת חירום שאין דוגמתה לעמנו מימות עולם, אוי לנו שכך עלתה בימינו.

מדי הופעת ה״מאור תורה״ ישתקף בו המראה הגדול הזה, הצלת תופשי התורה מתוך הסער המתחולל ע״פ התבל. שיורי ישיבות פולין, וישיבת מיר הדגולה על כל תלמידי כ״י,[38] המה גדולי התורה והיראה. והנה בתוככי שנגהי ההומי׳ נתונים במצבים שונים, עוסקים הם בתורה כמאז ת״ל,[39] וקול התורה הולך וחזק.

מי פילל כזאת, שגם במקומות הנדחים תוכל להתקיים ישיבה בכל מלואה ותפארתה, אשר בה חכמי התורה ימשיכו את תפלת חייהם הארוכה, היא תפלת ״ולמאור תורתך עינינו גל״ ! תכתב זאת לדור אחרון ועמנו המלומד בנסים יראה ויהלל י׳ה.

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36 The editor was Rabbi Mordechai Ephraim Ginsburg (?–1960), one of the members of the Mir Yeshivah to reach Shanghai. In 1947 he and his family settled in the United States, where he eventually became head of the Mir Yeshivah.

37 חידושי תורה.

38 כל יחיד.

39 תהילה לאל.

בהגישנו את קובצנו זה לפני הקהל, אנו תקוה, אשר כל העמלים בתורה, שוחרי׳ והוגי׳,
ימצאו בו את חפצם המבוקש. ואשר הנו גם חפצנו אנו, – להגדיל תורה ולהאדירה.
אלול תש״ד
ועד ״מאור תורה״ שנגהי.

Translation

At the first appearance of the "Me'or Torah"

The present volume is meant as a renewal of halakhic lore. Its purpose is to renew and to continue what the best halakhic monthlies and volumes that were to be found in Poland (like *Ohel Torah*[40] <Baranowicze>, *Knesset Yisra'el*[41] <Vilna>, and others) had already begun. In those quiet years the Torah sages considered it necessary to found monthlies and journals for the renewal of Torah. Their value and importance is even greater now that we are dispersed and living in a state of emergency unknown heretofore. Bitter is our lot!

Whenever "*Me'or Torah*" will appear, it will reveal to us like a big mirror the rescue of those who are learned in the Torah in these tempestuous times. Every single student from the remnants of the Polish Yeshivot and the grand Mir Yeshivah is a distinguished scholar of the Torah and the fear of God. Although amid the bustle of Shanghai where they are facing various situations, the students nonetheless study Torah, praise to the Lord, as before, and the voice of the Torah is getting ever stronger.

Who would have thought that a Yeshivah could exist and thrive in all its glory even in a remote place, and where the sages can continue to pray their lifetime prayers, which is the prayer "For the light of your teaching our eyes are open."[42]

When this volume will be presented to the public we hope that all those who strive and seek for the Torah and reflect upon it will find in it what they and we wish for – namely the Torah's increase and elevation.
July 1944
Staff of the "*Me'or Torah*," Shanghai.

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40 In 1924 the first of three volumes of the Hebrew halakhic compendium *Ohel Torah* was published by the orthodox, non-hasidic Rabbi Elhanan Wasserman (1875–1941), founder and head of the Yeshivah Ohel Torah in Baranowicze (today Baranovichi, White Russia).

41 *Knesset Yisra'el* was a monthly magazine that appeared from 1930 to 1935 in Vilna, edited by Moshe Karelitz (1882–1941). The periodical discussed halakhic and talmudic subjects, and included halakhic novellas by Polish and Lithuanian rabbis.

42 Cf. Psalm 119:18.

Document 127

Anonymous
1945
Journal editorial, in: Unzer vort. Zamlheft [Our Word. Collection],[43] *no. 1, 1 f.*
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1855.9

"אונזר ווארט"

זעקס יאר זענען מיר געלעגן פארשאטענע אונטער חורבות און סיי דער געראנגל, סיי דער פיין פון דער וועלט – און אין דער ערשטער ריי פון אונזער יידישער וועלט – איז דער־רגאנגען צו אונז ווי א ווייטער אפקלאנג, פארטויבט, פארנעפלט. און וועז מיר פלעגן שוין יא דערגיין דעם שרעקלעכן אמת, פלעגן מיר אויך נישט קאנען שרייען, שוין אפגערעדט פון העלפן.

פארשאטענע אונטער חורבות, מיט געבונדענע גלידער און צינגער, האבן מיר איבערג־עלעבט איובֿס צרות, אויבֿ נישט תמיד פיזיש, איז אבער שטענדיק גייסטיק.

וועז די קאשמארן – די ווייטע, ווי נאנטע – פלעגן אונז פיניקן, פלעגן מיר מוזן דער־רשטיקן אין זיך אונזערע געשרייען, אונזער פראטעסט, מיר פלעגן מוזן מוותר זיין אויף דער דאזיקער עלעמענטארער רעכט, וואס די נאטור האט געגעבן אלס מינימום טרייסט אין זייער פיין אלע העכערע קלאסן באשעפענישן; מיר זענען געווען ווי פיש, וואס צאפלען זיך שטומע אין די נעצן, מיר זענען געווען ווי די ווערים, וואס מען טרעט מיט די פיס און מען הערט קיין קרעכץ נישט פון זיי.

איצט נעמען מיר ארויסגיין פון אונטער די אפגעגראבענע חורבות און אונזערע צינגער ווערן אויפגעבונדן און דאס ערשטע, דאס סאמע ערשטע, וואס אונז ווילט זיך, וואס אונז קומט, איז אויסלייזן אונזער לאנג־פארהאלטענעם געשריי, לאזן הערן "אונזער ווארט".

דער זשורנאל "אונזער ווארט" איז קודם כל א געשריי, אונזער ערשטער געשריי. אבער נישט נאר דאס.

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אונזער אומגליק איז אזוי טיף און גרויס, אז ס׳איז נישטא אזא געשריי, וואס זאל אים קאנען ארויסשרייען. אונז דאכט זיך אמאל, אז אונזער אלטער מעכטיקער "איכה" איז ווי פארבלאסט געוואָרן, ער נויטיקט זיך אין א נייער, פארשטארקטער אויפלאגע. אבער ווו זאלן מיר נעמען א ירמיהו?

אונזער וויטיק איז נישט אויסצושרייען און נישט אפצווישן, אבער נאך גרעסער און טיפער פארן ווייטיק איז אונזער פאלקס־וואָילן צו לעבן.

דער געשריי פון "אונזער ווארט" איז דער אויסדרוק פון דאזיקן ווילן צו לעבן, און דעריבער גילט ער נישט נאר דעם אויסערלעכן שונא, נאר אויך דער אינערלעכער פוילעניש.

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43 Only one more issue of *Unzer vort* appeared in 1946. It is unknown who edited the journal.

מיר ווייסן, אז נאר א געזונטער פאלקס־ארגאניזם קאן איבערטראגן אזא אויפטרייסלונג, ווי די, וואס אונז קומט אויס איבערצוטראגן. און מיר ווילן מיט אונזער ווארט ביישטייערן צום נויטוועגדיקן פראצעס פון געזינטער מאכן אונזער לעבן.

מיר זענען שוין פיר יאר (און וועלכע פיר יאר!) אפגעריסן פון די גרויסע יידישע צענ־טרען; מיר ווייסן נישט ווי עס זעט אויס אין דער יידישער וועלט נאך דער ביישפיללאזער קאטאסטראפע; מיר האבן קיין אנונג נישט ווי די איבערגעבליבענע פאלקס־טיילן האבן אויפגענומען די קאטאסטראפע, ווי אזוי זיי האבן אינערלעך רעאגירט דערויף, וואסער גייסטיקע רעאקציע זי האט אריסגערופן און ווי אזוי די פאלקס־כוחות ארב־עטן אויף צו גלייכגעוויכטיקן אונזער פון גלייכגעוויכט אריסגעווארפענעם נאציאנאלן ארגאניזם.

|2| מיר ווייסן נישט דאס אלץ, אבער אונזער לעבעדיקער און לעבנסלוסטיקער נאציאנאלער אינסטינקט זאגט אונז, אז קודם כל מוזן מיר רעאגירן אויף דער נאנטסטער צו אונז יידי־שער סביבה. מיר מוזן רייניקן דעם אייטער אין און ארום אונז. און מיר ווילן דאס טאן מיט "אונזער ווארט".

"אונזער ווארט" איז פון איין זייט א געשריי, און פון דער צווייטער – א פרווו צו טאט.

* * *

"אונזער ווארט" ווערט אריסגעגעבן נישט דורך א געשלאסענער אידעאלאגישער גרו־פע; "אונזער ווארט" איז א פרייע טריבונע, אפן פאר יעדן, וואס פילט און וויל טראגן די אחריות פארן יידישן לעבן, וואס פילט זיך אויף טויט און לעבן פארבונדן מיטן יידישן פאלק און זיין גורל; אפן פאר יעדן, וואס ווארט־אויסדרוק איז פאר אים נישט קיין אויס־ערלעך מיטל, נאר אן אינערלעכער צוואנג, נישט קיין באשעפטיקונג, נאר א פליכט, א נאציאנאלע און מענטשלעכע פליכט.

מיר טרעטן צו צו אונזער באנייטער דינסט לטובת דעם יידישן עפנטלעכן ווארט מיט קליינע גייסטיקע און מאטעריעלע מיטלען, אבער מיטן באוווסטזיין, אז מיר זענען א קליינער פארפאסטן אויף א שוואכן פונקט פון שווער־צושעדיקטן אלוועלטלעכן יידישן קולטור־פראנט.

און אין אזעלכע מאמענטן פון קאטאסטראפע ליגט א גרויסע אחריות אויך אויף די קלענסטע פארפאסטנס.

דער דאזיקער באוווסטזיין איז א לאסט, אבער אויך א קוואל פון קראפט.

Translation

"Our Word"

For six years we laid damaged under the ruins, and only a faint, muted echo reached us of struggle and the torture of this world – first of all in our Jewish world. And when we finally learn the awful truth, we cannot cry out, not to mention help.

Damaged under ruins, limbs and tongues constrained, we survived the troubles, even if not always physically, but always spiritually.

Even as the nightmares – the distant and the near ones – are tormenting us, we must choke our voice, our protest; we must give up a fundamental right, which nature imparted on any living creature of the superior classes, i.e. at least to receive comfort in his pain. We have been like fish wriggling dumbly in a net; like worms crushed underfoot without the slightest sound.

Now we emerge from the removed debris and our tongues are untied. The first thing, the very first thing that we are going to do is to release our long suppressed cry, to let "our word" be heard.

The paper *Unzer vort* is above all a cry. Our first cry, but it is more than that.

* * *

Our unhappiness is so deep and great that no cry can express it, that it can be barely voiced. We thought once that our ancient, powerful *Lamentations* has faded, demanding a new and stronger form. But from where can we get a new Jeremiah?

Our pain is unspeakable, it cannot be wiped out. But even greater and deeper than our pain is our national will to remain alive.

The cry of *Unzer vort* expresses this great will to live. Therefore, it is not only limited to the outward foe or to the inner Polishness. We know that only a healthy national organism can bear such a shock like that which we have to bear. And we want to contribute with our word to the necessary process of restoring our lives to health.

It is four years ago (and what four years!) that we were cut off from the large Jewish centers. We don't know what it is like in the Jewish world today after the unprecedented catastrophe. We are completely ignorant of how the remnant of our people understands this catastrophe, how they react to it internally, which kind of mental reaction this has evoked, and how the national strength is working to re-equilibrate our destabilized national organism.

|2| All this we do not know. But our vivid and lively national instincts tell us that first of all we must react to our immediate Jewish surroundings. We must cleanse ourselves of the infections in and around us. And this we want to do with *Unzer vort*, which is, on the one hand, a cry and, on the other, a call to action.

Unzer vort is not published by an ideologically closed group. *Unzer vort* is a podium that is open to anyone who feels responsible for Jewish life and who feels connected to the life and death of the Jewish people and its fate; it is open to everyone for whom verbal expression is not a superficial means, but an inner compulsion, not a mere occupation but a duty, a national and humane duty.

We serve anew the public Jewish word with humble spiritual and material means, knowing that we are but just a small outpost of the weak, heavily damaged, world-wide Jewish culture front.

At such moments of catastrophe there is a large responsibility even in the smallest outpost. This knowledge is a burden, but also a source of strength.

Document 128

Willy Y. Tonn[44]
December 13, 1940
Newspaper article, in: Der Mitarbeiter, no. 4, 9.
Microfilm; HCL, Judaica Collection, reel 96–270226061

Essen und Spiele der Chinesen

In chinesischen Haeusern wird das Essen in kleinen Schuesseln aufgetragen. Gegessen wird mit zwei Ess-Staebchen, die man in der rechten Hand haelt. Das eine Staebchen klemmt man am oberen Ende zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger an der Wurzel. Es wird also in der Daumenbeuge festgehalten (nicht etwa wie ein Federhalter am unteren Ende) und in der Mittee [sic] des Staebchens mit dem vierten Finger festgedrueckt; dieses Staebchen bleibt unbewegt. Das andere obere Staebchen greift, indem es am dickeren Ende links vom Daumen, oben vom zweiten und rechts vom Mittelfinger gehalten und gelenkt wird. Der Mittelfinger liegt also frei am oberen Staebchen und kommt mit dem unteren Staebchen nicht in Beruehrung, wie zunaechst manche Europaeer glauben.

Die Speisen, von denen es zumeist viele Gaenge, bei grossen Festmahlzeiten ueber 30 gibt, werden alle klein zerschnitten serviert, so dass man kein Messer zum Zerteilen benoetigt. Die chinesische Kueche ist die reichhaltigste und neben der franzoesischen die schmackhafteste der Welt, so dass viele Gerichte auch dem Europaeer munden. Da der Raum zu beschraenkt ist, seien nur einige Delikatessen und Speisen herausgegriffen: Haifischflossen, Schwalbennestersuppe, Peking-Ente, Bambussprossen, Froschschenkel, Chopsuey (Gemisch von Huehner-, Enten-, Schweinefleisch, Pilzen, Bohnen- und Bambussprossen); Rinderbraten mit Pilzen in Curry, Huhn mit Maronen in Soja-Tunke, Ruehrei mit Kraeutern, Krabben und Bambus, Gefluegel-

44 About Tonn, see ch. 4, n. 4.

leber mit Kohl und Ingwer, gebackener Karpfen in Weintunke, Entenzunge mit Pilzen, Taubeneier mit Gemuese, Fleischpasteten mit Nudeln, usw. Vor dem Essen erfrischt man das Gesicht mit einem feuchtheissen Mundtuch und trinkt eine Tasse Tee. Aufgetragen werden zunaechst kleine Naepfe mit salziger Bohnentunke (aehnlich Maggi), da die chinesischen Gerichte im allgemeinen nicht gesalzen werden, mit gepoekeltem Gemueseklein, Aprikosen und Nuessen sowie kleine Teller mit Melonen-, Sonnenblumenkernen, Salzmandeln, von denen man beliebig waehrend der Mahlzeit nimmt. Reis wird zu jedem Gang serviert, Fisch und Suppe nebst Obst stets am Ende des Mahls, danach werden Getraenke gereicht.

Bei und nach Tisch sind Gesellschaftsspiele ueblich wie Raetselraten, Scherzfragen, Erzaehlen von Witzen und Anekdoten, Verseschmieden, Zusammenstellen schwer aussprechbarer Saetze und das Fingerspiel, welch letzteres sehr beliebt ist und dem bekannten „Schere, Stein, Papier“ entspricht, in China seit der T'angzeit (618–906 n. Chr.) bekannt, chinesisch huo-tchuean = Oeffnen der Faust. Die Hand wird geballt und, entweder geschlossen oder einen bis fuenf Finger ausgestreckt, vorgeschnellt; gleichzeitig streckt der Gegner eine Zahl von Fingern nach vorn, dabei rufen beide eine Zahl von 0 bis 10. Wer die Summe der ausgestreckten Finger beider Haende richtig ausruft, hat gewonnen; der Verlierende muss einen Becher Wein leeren oder, wie der Chinese sagt, „gan be“ (= trocknen einen Becher). Raten beide richtig oder beide falsch, wird das Spiel ohne Straftrunk fortgesetzt.

Andere Gesellschaftsspiele sind Karten- und Geduldsspiele, ferner das Wuerfelpiel [sic], bei dem Pfeile in eine Vase mit engem Hals geworfen werden, bereits im Li-ki[45] erwaehnt, chinesisch: tou-hu = Werfen in den Topf. Die bekanntesten und beliebtesten Unterhaltungsspiele sind jedoch die Brettspiele We-tchi (japanisch: Go = Einkreisung-Schach), gespielt auf einem Brett von 19 mal 19 Linien mit 180 weissen und 181 schwarzen Steinen, und Hiang-tchi = Elefanten-Schach, auch genannt: Chinesisches Schach, gespielt auf einem Brett mit 9 mal 10 Linien und je 2 mal 16 Steinen bzw. Figuren, von denen sich die zwei Parteien oder Gegner in Farbe bzw. Schriftzeichen unterscheiden.

Es entspricht dem arabo-europaeischen Schach, hat aber mehr militaerischen Charakter und ist *das* Spiel Chinas. Man sieht es auf der Strasse von Kulis spielen, auch von Wettspielern als Schachaufgabe ausgebreitet und in Laeden, wo es Angestellte und Inhaber spielen, statt die Kundschaft zu bedienen. Hiang-tchi ist ein altes, einfaches Spiel, daher schon ab 13 cts. in jedem Warenhaus zu haben. Da jeder Leser es sicher gern erlernen und spielen wird,

45 The *Liji* (Record of Ritual) is a classical, canonical Han text on social behavior and court ceremony.

sei in der naechsten Nummer eine Erlaeuterung und Anweisung des Spiels gegeben, das man sich auch selbst anfertigen kann.
W. Y. T.

Document 129

M. K.[46]
December 20, 1940
Newspaper article, in: Der Mitarbeiter, no. 5, 11.
Microfilm; HCL, Judaica Collection, reel 96–270226061

Die Kinder von Hongkew
Zum einjaehrigen Geburtstag der Schule in der Kinchow Road

Vor einigen Tagen gab es einen Geburtstag in Hongkew, der nicht gefeiert wurde: Die Schule in der Kinchow Road[47] wurde ein Jahr alt.

Und doch waere das Grund genug fuer eine grosse Feier gewesen. Heute ist es eine Selbstverstaendlichkeit, dass die kleinen Refugeekinder in eine Schule gehen. Als die Shanghai Jewish Youth Association vor einem Jahr die chinesische Schule in der Kinchow Road uebernahm, wurden 380 Refugeekinder aufgenommen und vierzehn Lehrer angestellt. Es war damals gar nicht so sicher, dass das Experiment – denn in Shanghai ist jede Neueinfuehrung ein Experiment – gelingen wuerde.

Es ist gelungen. Heute besucht die doppelte Anzahl von Kindern die Schule, die ein Segen ist fuer die junge, entwurzelte Generation.

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46 This was maybe Max Eugen Kühnel (1909–1993) who was raised in Vienna. In 1940 he came via England to Shanghai, where he worked for some time as the editor of *Der Mitarbeiter*. In 1941 he managed to receive an entry permit for the United States. There he changed his name to Max Knight; cf. Joseph P. Strelka, Des Odysseus Nachfahren. Österreichische Exilliteratur seit 1938, Tübingen/Basel 1999, 125. In 1993 Knight finished his memoir, *The Story of My Life with Documents and Photographs* (unpublished manuscript), held at the UC Berkeley library.

47 The school's official name was the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association (SJYA) School. Founded by Horace Kadoorie in 1939 and supported by him, it became known as the Kadoorie School. Initially it was located next to the Kinchow Road camp, and in 1942 the school was moved to a new building on East Yuhang Road.

Sie ist nicht das, was man sich vermutlich im Ausland unter einer Refugeeschule in Shanghai vorstellen wuerde. Die Schule in der Kinchow Road ist eine praechtige Anstalt, in der diszipliniert und systematisch unter Anleitung von Fachleuten gelehrt wird. Um dreiviertel Acht sind die Strassen in der Umgebung der Schule gekennzeichnet durch hunderte von kleinen Buben und Maedchen, die, wie wir einst in Deutschland und Oesterreich, mit dem Raenzel auf dem Ruecken zur Schule pilgern. Um Punkt Acht laeutet die Glocke, die Kinder haben in den Baenken Platz genommen, der Lehrer tritt in die Klasse. Es werden Sprachen, Mathematik und „general knowledge" unterrichtet, das aus Tierkunde, Pflanzenkunde, Geographie und Geschichte besteht.

Die Unterrichtssprache ist englisch. Mit einiger Uebertreibung kann man sagen: Je juenger das Kind, desto besser spricht es englisch; manchmal besser als die Lehrer, die selbst meist Refugees sind, und sich redlich bemuehen, sich fehlerfrei und fliessend auszudruecken; sie brauchen sich nicht zu schaemen – *ihre* Unterrichtssprache war ja nicht englisch.

Die Headmistress[48] unterrichtet als Hauptfach Mathematik. Ihr besonderer Sport ist „mental arithmetic", schnellstes Kopfrechnen, das als eine Art Wettbewerb geuebt wird, wobei das Kind gewinnt, das die richtige Loesung am raschesten gefunden hat. Es gibt kleine Wunder unter diesen Kopfrechenkuenstlern. Ich wurde eingeladen zuzuhoeren und sass in der letzten Bank wie einst im Mai, als eine solche Konkurrenz begann. Es war in einer unteren Klasse. Die Headmistress nannte irgendeine Zahl, ordnete an, sie im Kopf mit einer anderen zu multiplizieren und – ohne das Resultat abzufragen – verlangte nun soundsoviel davon zu subtrahieren; hierauf zu dividieren, addieren, wieder multiplizieren, das ging so im Schnellzugstempo zwanzig, dreissig, vierzig Sekunden lag [sic], und als sie zuletzt fragte: „Is how much?" riefen ein halbes Dutzend Spatzenkehlen gleichzeitig „Twenty four!"

„Have you been able to follow?" fragte mich die Lehrerin. „No," sagte ich wahrheitsgemaess und machte ein Schafsgesicht. Ich haette selbst mit dem Bleistift laenger gebraucht.

Eine Schwierigkeit ist die Frage der Schulbuecher. Obgleich der Wohltaeter,[49] der hinter der Finanzierung der Schule steht, sich bemueht, alles Noetige anzuschaffen, ist es doch bisher nicht moeglich gewesen, jedes Kind mit eigenen Buechern zu versehen. Die Aufgaben und Beispiele aus den vorhandenen Buechern werden diktiert und muessen mitgeschrieben werden. Die waehrend des Unterrichts verwendeten Buecher gehen nach der Stunde

48 The headmistress who taught math and French was Lucie Hartwich (1892–?). She was principal of a private school in Berlin before the war; cf. Hochstadt, Exodus, 244; Buxbaum, Transit, 86.

49 This was Horace Kadoorie.

wieder ins Lehrzimmer zurueck, um auch anderwaerts verwendet werden zu koennen.

Wer sich ordentlich aufgefuehrt hat und in eine hoehere Klasse aufgestiegen ist, darf sich um die Mitgliedschaft zum „Club" bewerben. Dieser Club, in einem anderen Teil des Schulgebaeudes untergebracht, ist mindestens ebenso bemerkenswert wie die Schule selbst. Hier ist die bedrueckende Atmosphaere, die viele der Kinder den ganzen uebrigen Tag umgibt, auf einige Stunden gebannt, hier gibt es Luft und Platz, Teppiche auf dem Boden, Blumen in den Nischen und, vor allem, Beschaeftigung. Im „Club" wird Buchbinden, Radiokonstruktion, Manicure, Naehen, Stricken, Haekeln, Hygiene, Erste Hilfe gelehrt, es gibt eine Musterkueche und eine Leihbibliothek, ein Ping-Pong Zimmer, Musikzimmer, eine Turnhalle and [sic] eine grosse Werkstaette. In der Halle koennen die „Clubmitglieder" sitzen und spielen, plaudern oder lesen. Ausserdem gibt es eine Reihe von „activities", Boxen, Hockey, Fussball, Korbball, Kino usw.

Die Kinder des Clubs haben ihre eigene Bank. Diese ist eine genaue Kopie einer echten Bank, mit gleichen Formularen und Kartotheken, mit Schecks und Sparbuechern. Das ist eine neue und ausgezeichnete Idee. Wir mussten diese Dinge erst im „wirklichen Leben" lernen.

Last but not least, die Schule hat ihren eigenen Schularzt,[50] der staendig im Schulgebaeude anwesend ist, eine komplett eingerichtete Ordination hat und ueber jeden einzelnen seiner Schuetzlinge genau Buch fuehrt. Jedes Kind hat ein grosses Kartothekblatt, in dem alle wissenswerten Daten verzeichnet und von Zeit zu Zeit ueberprueft werden. Medikamente, Roentgen, Behandlung sind unentgeltlich.

Es ist schon allerhand, was da geleistet wurde. Die Schule als Refugeeschule ist jung, erst ein Jahr alt. Aber die Saat die hier gelegt wird ist schon jetzt unvergaenglich.

m k

50 The school physician was Paul Solomon (c. 1882–?); he was one of the editors of the *Medizinische Monatshefte Shanghai*, published by the CAEJR's medical board.

Document 130

Anonymous
March, 1940
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle (Sonderausgabe), 9–11.
Photocopy, courtesy Howard Levin; NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

Unsere Heime
Der Rechenschaftsbericht der Zentralheimleitung

Als gegen Ende 1938, in jener Zeit, in der die Verfolgung des deutschen Judentums sich ihrem Hoehepunkt naeherte, der Zustrom der juedischen Fluechtlinge aus Deutschland nach Shanghai grosse Dimensionen auszunehmen begann, entstand das lebenswichtige Problem, wie die Befuersorgung dieser Emigrantenmassen, von denen die meisten ohne Mittel nach Shanghai kamen, in die Wege geleitet werden soll. Es war nicht allein das materielle Problem der Errichtung der ersten Zufluchtstaetten, die den Emigranten gewissermassen das Dach ueber dem Kopfe und ein Minimum an Ernaehrung sicherzustellen hatten, sondern vor allem auch ein psychologisches[51] Problem, diesen tausenden aus ihren bisherigen Wohnstaetten vertriebenen und verzweifelten Menschen neuen Lebensmut einzufloessen und ihnen die ersten Schritte in einer neuen Umgebung und unter voellig geaenderten Lebensverhaeltnissen zu erleichtern. Es waren keine geringen Ansprueche, die an die lokalen Hilfsorganisationen in Shanghai gestellt worden waren. Aus diesen Bemuehungen kristallisierte sich im Laufe einer verhältnismaessig sehr kurzen Zeit eine grosse Unterstuetzungsorganisation, die die Befuersorgung der juedischen Emigranten in die Haende genommen hat und diese gigantische Aufgabe mit unstreitbarem Erfolg zu loesen wusste.

Es war vor allem das Verdienst des damaligen Praesidenten der ersten Hilfsorganisation M. Speelman, rechtzeitig erkannt zu haben, dass nur die Schaffung grosser und entsprechend eingerichteter Fluechtlingsheime einer Loesung des schwierigen Problems naeherbringen koennte. Bereits Ende Dezember 1938 schritt man an die Schaffung des Ward Road Heimes, das Mitte Januar 1939 eroeffnet werden konnte. Auf Anregung des Herrn Speelman folgten im Maerz das Wayside-Heim und im Mai desselben Jahres das Chauffoong [sic] Heim.

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51 Photo below the last line: people in a green courtyard in front of a one-story building, with tables set up in the courtyard; the caption reads "Verkaufsbazar im Ward-Road-Heim mit Garten."

Als Herr Speelman um diese Zeit seine Europareise antrat, setzte Mr. Ellis Hayim in[52] grosszuegiger Weise die begonnene Arbeit fort. So wurden das Kinchow-Heim und das Alkock [sic]-Heim errichtet. Ellis Hayim gelang es auch, Sir Victor Sassoon fuer seine Plaene zu gewinnen und auf seine Anregung stellte Sir Victor Sassoon das Pingliang Heim der Emigration zur Verfuegung.

Nahezu gleichzeitig mit der Eroeffnung des ersten grossen Heimes in der Ward Road wurde Julius Weinberger, der schon bei den ersten Bemuehungen um die Organisierung der Hilfsmassnahmen sich sehr hervorgetan hat, mit der Leitung aller Heime betraut. Ihm oblag nunmehr die schwierige und verantwortungsvolle Aufgabe, die grosszuegigen Plaene des Komitees ins Praktische umzusetzen.

Im Nachstehenden soll an der Hand des Rechenschaftsberichtes, den uns der Leiter der Heime, Herr Julius Weinberger, zur Verfuegung stellt, gezeigt werden, welch gewaltiges Stueck Arbeit auf diesem vielleicht entscheidenden Gebiete der Bekaempfung der Emigrantennot geleistet werden musste, um das Aufbauwerk der Emigrantengemeinschaft in Shanghai ueberhaupt erst moeglich zu machen.

Die Zentralheimleitung erstattet ihren Tätigkeitsbericht

Die Vorgeschichte

Als die juedischen Fluechtlinge im Herbst des Jahres 1938 nicht mehr ganz vereinzelt, sondern in immer groesseren Trupps in Shanghai einzutreffen begannen, wurde zunaechst im Embankment eine Art Sammelstelle geschaffen, wo man die Ankoemmlinge unterbrachte. Die Raeume erwiesen sich zeitweilig als zu klein, und so war man gezwungen, Fluechtlinge in der Synagoge Museumsroad schlafen zu lassen.

Die Verpflegung wurde anfangs in einem chinesischen Restaurant in der Szechuen Road durchgefuehrt. Zu dieser Zeit erwies sich Miss Mathy Abraham als ganz besonders hilfsbereit. Monatelang liess sie auf eigene Kosten an hunderte Fluechtlinge Fruehstueck und Abendbrot austeilen und leitete in hingebender Weise persoenlich die Ausspeisung.

Ward-Road-Heim

Mit der Eroeffnung des Ward Road Heimes, Mitte Januar 1939, begann eine neue Periode der Fluechtlingsfuersorge in Shanghai. Das Gebaeude in der Ward Road war fuer die Unterbringung von 1000 Personen gedacht. Zunaechst musste es aber in einen brauchbaren Zustand versetzt werden, da es ebenso, wie fast alle Haeuser Hongkews, schwere Kriegsschaeden aufzuwei-

52 Photo below the last line: a portrait of a man; the caption reads "Julius Weinberger."

sen hatte. Daecher waren zerschossen, Mauern zertruemmert usw., sodass ein tuechtiges Stueck Arbeit zu leisten war, ehe an die Einrichtung gedacht werden konnte.

Die Baulichkeiten, die frueher fuer Schulzwecke benuetzt wurden, waren fuer die Errichtung eines Heimes ueberaus geeignet. Die grossen Schulzimmer boten Schlafraeume fuer je 20–36 Personen. Sie wurden mit Doppelbetten ausgestattet, so zwar dass fuer jeden einzelnen Mann noch immer Raum zur Unterbringung seiner Habseligkeiten uebrig blieb.[53]

Eine der wichtigsten Vorbedingungen, an die von Hause aus gedacht werden musste, war es, einwandfreie sanitaere Verhaeltnisse zu schaffen, da sonst angesichts der in Shanghai immer wieder auftretenden Seuchen der Ausbruch von Epedemien [sic] im Heim zu befuerchten war. So wurde nach Weisungen der Aerzte eine Klosettanlage errichtet. Sie erwies sich in der Zukunft als voellig entsprechend, da sie jederzeit reingehalten und ### ### ###[54] werden konnte. Vor all## ###[55] Umstand ist es zu danken, dass im Ward Road Heim trotz des zeitweilig gewaltigen Menschenandranges, nie eine ernste Epedemie ausgebrochen ist.

Bis Mitte Januar 1939 waren die ersten Emigranten in einem Gebaeude in der Washington [sic] -Road untergebracht. Diese Unterkunftsstaette erwies sich bald als voellig unzureichend. Dieses Fluechtlingsheim wurde auch nach kurzer Zeit aufgelassen und aus diesem Gebaeude entstand ein juedisches Spital.[56]

Im Spaetfruehjahr wurde eine Badegelegenheit mit Warm- und Kaltwasser errichtet. Als Regiebeitrag wurde nur 1 Cent pro Bad eingehoben. Die Einrichtung fand ausserordentlichen Beifall, was am besten daraus hervorgeht, dass das Bad an manchen Tagen von 400 Personen benuetzt wurde.

Waehrend von Anbeginn ein sehr geraeumiger Speisesaal vorhanden war, der nur mit Tischen und Baenken ausgestattet werden musste, war sofort bei Errichtung des Heimes eine eigene Kueche zu schaffen. Sie wurde immer und immer wieder erweitert und bietet jetzt die Moeglichkeit, 6500 Menschen drei warme Mahlzeiten am Tag zu verabreichen.

Die anderen Heime

Auf Grund der Erfahrungen, die bei Errichtung des Ward Road Heimes gemacht worden waren, konnten fuer die weiteren Heime die entsprechen-

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53 Photo below the last line: several people standing in front of a house; the caption reads “Essenausgabe im Ward-Road-Heim.”

54 Page torn.

55 Page torn; the words obviously read “allem diesem.”

56 This was the Emigrant’s Hospital on Whashing Road.

den Gebaeude zweckmaessig ausgesucht und eingerichtet werden. Ehe die Behoerden die Einwanderungssperre fuer Shanghai verhaengten, was Ende August geschah, mussten die neuen Heime so geschaffen werden, dass sie auch einem Massenansturm gerecht werden konnten. Durch diese Vorsorge war es im Juni, Juli und August, als die Einwanderungswelle ihren Hoehepunkt erreichte, jederzeit moeglich, allen Anforderungen zu entsprechen.
|10| Das Waysideheim war fuer Familien und Ehepaare bestimmt worden. Es bot ungefaehr 300 Personen Platz. In der Chauofoong [sic]-Road konnten 800 Personen, im Kinchow-Heim 1200 Personen, im Alcockheim 700 Personen untergebracht werden.

Das Pingliangheim ist jenes Heim, auf das die Fluechtlinge selbst stolz sein duerfen. Es war von Anbeginn fuer die Unterbringung junger arbeitstuechtiger Menschen gedacht und ist von ihnen eingerichtet worden. Dank der Arbeit dieser Leute ist das Pingliangheim heute eines der schoensten Heime Shanghais.[57]

Verpflegung

Mit der Errichtung und dem Ausbau der Heime war die Frage der Befuersorgung tausender von Fluechtlingen selbstverstaendlich noch nicht geloest. Man musste vor allem fuer die *Verpfegung* [sic] *der grossen Menschenmasse* Sorge tragen.

Das erste Heim, das Ward-Road-Heim, fungierte auch als die zentrale Verpflegstelle. Nicht nur die in diesem Heim wohnenden Personen, sondern auch die vielen Emigranten, die ausserhalb der Heime leben, werden von der Kueche des Ward-Road-Heimes mit drei Mahlzeiten taeglich versorgt.[58]

Die Verlegung des Commitees [sic] aus dem Embankment-Building in die Alcock-Road war nur dadurch moeglich, dass das technische Office fuer einen grosszuegigen Umbau im Alcock-Heim Sorge trug. Der allgemein bekannte Aussenbau des Heimes in der Pingliang Road, nicht zuletzt die Einrichtung eines Roentgenzimmers in der Ward Road und eines Laboratoriums im Washington-Hospital in der Washington Road waren gleichfalls wichtige Arbeitsaufgaben, die waehrend des Berichtjahres geloest werden mussten.[59]

Zu Beginn waren es nur etwa 1000 Menschen, die hier verpflegt wurden. Diese Zahl stieg in kurzer Zeit auf 6500. Durch eine entsprechende Erweiterung der Kueche und eine Rationalisierung des ganzen Betriebes ist es

57 Photo below the last line: a three-story building; the caption reads "Wayside-Heim."
58 Photo below the last line: a hall, people sitting on simple chairs next to tables; the caption reads "Aufenthaltsraum im Kinchowheim."
59 Photo below the last line: a man bending over some buckets next to a house wall; the caption reads "An der Arbeit."

moeglich geworden, rund 20 000 *Mahlzeiten an einem Tage* reibungslos auszufolgen. In den ersten Monaten wurde die Kueche des Heimes von Herrn *Wroclawsky* gefuehrt. Dann uebernahm Frau *Joseph* den Kuechenbetrieb und stellte ihn auf voellig neue Grundlage.

Bei Zusammenstellung der Mahlzeiten wird auf aerztliche Ratschlaege Ruecksicht genommen und insbesondere daran gedacht, dass entsprechende Mengen von Vitaminen verabreicht werden, um die bei Massenausspeisungen drohenden Mangelkrankheiten nach Moeglichkeit zu verhindern.

In den ersten Monaten wurde nicht rituell gekocht. Auf Wunsch der Herren des Komitees fuehrte man spaeter koschere Kueche ein, wobei es sich zeigte, dass diese Zubereitung den meisten Emigranten besser mundete und auch die Kosten der Verpflegung sich nicht hoeher stellten, als bei nichtritueller Kueche.

Fuer die Aufbewahrung der Lebensmittel wurden ein grosser Kuehlraum und ein eigenes Magazin errichtet.

Arbeitsmoeglichkeiten

Abgesehen von Unterbringung und Verpflegung hatte die Zentralheimleitung auch daran zu denken, so viel [sic] Fluechtlingen wie nur moeglich Arbeit zu schaffen. Deshalb wurde das Grundprinzip aufgestellt, *jede nur irgend denkbare [Arbei]t von Emigranten verrichten* zu lassen.

Anfangs waren in der Kueche nur 8 Personen beschaeftigt. Derzeit wird in der Kueche und bei der Ausspeisung rund 93 Personen Verdienst gegeben. In der Fleischhauerei allein sind 18 Fleischer beschaeftigt.

Jedem Heim wurde ein Arbeitskommando [von] bis zu 10 Personen zugeteilt. Diese Leute haben die Instandhaltung der Heime und alle notwendigen Reparaturen zu besorgen. In diesen Gruppen sind Fachleute aller Handwerke beschaeftigt. Nichthandwerker wurden zum Ordnungsdienst herangezogen. In den Heimen wurde eine Heimpolizei von 35 Mann geschaffen, die fuer den Wachdienst herangezogen werden und fuer Ruhe und Ordnung in den Raeumen und bei der Ausspeisung sorgen.

Technische A[rbeit][60]

Am 8. Maerz 1939 wurde vom Zentralheimleiter Julius Weinberger ein eigenes technisches Office (*Work-Department*) ins Leben gerufen, das mit der Aufgabe betraut wurde, alle Arbeiten, die mit dem Aufbau und der Erhaltung und dem Betrieb der Heime im Zusammenhang stehen, zu entwerfen, zu ueberwachen und deren Kosten entsprechend zu ueberpruefen. Eine ganze Reihe von wichtigen technischen Aufgaben wurden [sic] mit Hilfe dieser Or-

60 Paper torn.

ganisation in vorbildicher [sic] Weise geloest. Einige Beispiele moegen den Umfang dieser Arbeit illustrieren.

So konnte die Leistungsfaehigkeit der *Zentralkueche* in kurzer Zeit vervielfacht werden. Die Zahl von Kesseln wurde von vier auf vierundzwanzig erhoeht, Nebenkuechen – fuer Kinder und Kranke – geschaffen, Kuechenraeume selbst auf das Sechsfache vergroessert. Bei einer einmaligen Kesselfuellung koennen heute 7000 Portionen ohne weiteres fertiggestellt werden.

Das Problem der *Wasserversorgung* musste im Ward-Road-Heim ebenfalls geloest werden. Das Gebaeude, das mehr als 35 Jahre alt ist, war nur fuer drei Auslaufhaehne dimensioniert. Es musste nun eine eigene Wasserzuleitung gelegt werden, um 113 Wasserauslaufhaehne schaffen zu koennen.

Aehnlicherweise wurde die Kapazitaet der *elektrischen* Versorgung wesentlich gehoben. Ferner wurden eigene *Kuehlraeume* errichtet, in denen 4000 Pfund Fleisch eingelagert werden koennen.

Im selben Jahre wurde eine eigene Kueche mit sechs Kesseln und einer Gaskueche fuer Kinder und Kranke im Kinchow-Heim errichtet. Eine aehnliche Anlage entstand gleichzeitig in dem Heim in der Chaoufoong-Road.

Durch die Installierung von nicht weniger als 75 Brausebaedern fuer Kalt- und Warmwasser konnte eine ausserordentlich hohe *Badekapazitaet* ereicht [sic] werden. Bei einer durchschnittlichen Badezeit von 15 Minuten und einem nur achtstuendigen Tagesbetrieb koennen taeglich 2400 Personen baden.

Daneben liefen die vielfaeltigen Kleinarbeiten, eine Unmenge von Aufgaben im Dienste der *Instandsetzung*, die durchgefuehrt werden mussten. So wurden beispielsweise in der Periode zwischen Maerz und Ende Dezember 1939 nicht weniger als 1242 Auftraege erledigt, die saemtlich von der Werkstaette in der Ward Road, wo vier Emigranten beschaeftigt sind, ausgefuehrt wurden.

Das Kostenproblem

Alle diese Arbeiten beanspruchten einen Beitrag von Sh.[61] Dollar 23 308. Fast die Haelfte dieses Betrages floss arbeitenden Emigranten zu, die selbst in der Fuersorge der Heime leben. Durch die Schaffung des Umschulungslagers in der Pingliang Road wird es in der jetzt laufenden Periode moeglich sein, nahezu alle technischen Arbeiten *von Emigranten selbst* ausfuehren zu lassen.

Dass es gelingen konnte, diese technische Arbeitsorganisation ueberhaupt ins Leben zu rufen, die nicht nur ganz ausserordentliche Ersparnisse im Budget der Heime bewirkt, sondern ein unentbehrliches Rueckgrat der Instandhaltung und des Aufbaus der Heime bildet, ist nicht zuletzt das Ver-

61 Shanghai.

dienst des Ingenieur *Theodor Steinherz*, der unermuedlich darum gekaempft hat, die technischen Faehigkeiten der Emigration entsprechend auszuwerten und sie in den Dienst der Aufbauarbeit dieser Emigration zu stellen.[62]

Umschulung

Ueberaus erfolgreiche Versuche werden im Pingliang- und Kinchow-Heim angestellt, um vor allem juengere Emigranten dem Erwerbsleben zuzufuehren.

Das Pingliangheim war von Hause aus als Umschulungslager gedacht. Bereits bei seiner Errichtung wurden junge Menschen herangezogen, die unter Leitung von Technikern und Fachleuten nicht nur das Heim selbst schufen, sondern gleichzeitig in neue Berufszweige eingefuehrt wurden. Nach seiner Fertigstellung ### ### ### ### ### ### ### ### ### ###[63] das Pingliangheim fuer Umschulungskurse eingerichtet. Derzeit gibt es dort Lehrwerkstaetten und Kurse fuer Elektriker, Bauhandwerker, Tischler, und Schlosser. In diesen Kursen werden 300 *junge Maenner zu neuen Berufen* erzogen.

Mit aehnlichen Absichten hat Mrs. Kann im Kinchow-Heim die Kinchow-Works errichtet. Sie sind ueber den Lehrzweck hinaus auf geschaeftliche Basis gestellt worden. In den Kinchow-Works werden Herren- und Damenkleider, Strickwaren, Kunstgegenstaende fuer den Verkauf erzeugt, wobei die besonderen Faehigkeiten, die die Emigranten mitgebracht haben, und ihr Geschmack nutzbringend zur Geltung kommen. Die Kinchow-Workshops, die eine Verkaufsstelle in der Nanking Road errichtet haben und obendrein fuer den Export arbeiten, haben bereits erstaunliche Resultate aufzuweisen.[64]

Krankenfuersorge

Nicht nur an Gesunde, sondern auch an die Kranken hatte die Zentral-Heimleitung zu denken. Vom ersten Tage an wurden in allen Heimen Ambulatorien installiert, in denen je drei Aerzte mit dazugehoerigem geschulten [sic] Sanitaetspersonal Dienst machten. Die Aerzte hatten nicht nur den gesundheitlichen Zustand der Heimbewohner, sondern auch alle sanitaeren und hygienischen Einrichtungen zu ueberwachen.

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62 Photo below the last line: a big three-story building with trees in front; the caption reads "Kinchow-Heim."

63 Page torn.

64 Photo below the last line: people standing next to a house wall; the caption reads "Vor dem Eingang zum Speisesaal des Ward Road Heims. In der Mitte Dr. Tartakower, der die Essensausgabe beaufsichtigt."

Die Aerzte und die Zentral-Heimleitung wurden im Mai auf eine sehr ernste Probe gestellt, da unter den Emigranten eine Scharlachepedemie ausbrach. Dank der getroffenen Vorsorge konnte diese gefaehrliche Epedemie in ueberraschend kurzer Zeit gaenzlich zum Stillstand gebracht werden, der beste Beweis fuer die Zweckmaessigkeit des aerztlichen Dienstes und der sanitaeren Einrichtungen.

Waehrend dieser Epedemie wurde das Schulgebaeude in der Chauofoong Road als Epidemie [sic]-Spital ausgestattet und hat sich seither bei Infektionskrankheiten als Isolierspital aufs Beste bewaehrt.

Jedem Ambulatorium ist in den Heimen ein Krankenzimmer angegliedert, wo leichte Faelle einige Tage behandelt und beobachtet werden koennen. Fuer ernste Erkrankungen wurde das Washington-Hospital als allgemeines *juedisches Krankenhaus* in jenem Gebaeude eingerichtet, das in den ersten Tagen als Washingheim bekannt war. Das Juedische Spital kann mehr als sechzig bettlaegerige Patienten aufnehmen und verfuegt ueber alle Behelfe, die zu einen Spital gehoeren.

Als ueberaus wichtige Neuerung wurde in den letzten Wochen im Ward-Road-Heim eine *Poliklinik* eingerichtet, in der Spezialaerzte fuer Augen, Ohren, Nase, Lunge, usw. eine fachaerztliche Behandlung ambulatorischer Kranker gewaehrleisten. Besonders wertvoll ist es, dass ein Roentgenzimmer eingerichtet werden konnte.

Dank dem persoenlichen Eingreifen von Mrs. *R. D. Abraham* ist in allerjuengster Zeit im Ward-Road-Heim eine aufs beste ausgestattete *Geburtsklinik* eingerichtet worden. Juedische Kinder werden fortan im juedischen Heim zur Welt kommen.

In allen aerztlichen und sanitaeren Fragen fand die Heimleitung beim Health Department und beim Medical Board, an deren Spitze Professor Reiss steht, immer beste Unterstuetzung.

Kulturelle Einrichtungen

Die Zentral-Heimleitung sah es als eine ihrer Hauptaufgaben an, sich um religioese und kulturelle Fragen zu kuemmern.

Von Anbeginn an durfte in einer juedischen Gemeinschaft das Bethaus nicht fehlen. In den ersten Tagen diente ein kleines Zimmerchen als Betraum, spaeter wurde im Ward-Road-Heim ein grosses Zimmer als synagogaler Betsaal eingerichtet. Besonders feierlich gestalteten sich die Gottesdienste an den hohen Feiertagen, wobei Zentralheimleiter Weinberger selbst zu den Andaechtigen sprach.

Anlaesslich Chanukah wurden in allen Heimen Feiern veranstaltet. Die groesste war jene im Kinchow-Heim, der Praesident *Elis* [sic] *Hayim* und Familie *Abraham* beiwohnten.

Ebenso wie fuer religioese Dinge sorgte die Zentral-Heimleitung fuer kulturelle. In allen Heimen wurden *Englisch-Kurse* eingerichtet, die von nahezu der Haelfte aller Heimbewohner mehr oder minder fleissig besucht wurden.

Dem Vergnuegen dienten *Unterhaltungsabende* in allen Heimen, die alle acht bis vierzehn Tage stattfanden und zu denen sich die Kuenstler nahezu unentgeltlich zur Verfuegung stellten. Die Organisation dieser Abende wurde anfangs vom zweiten Buerochef des Heimoffice, Herrn *Gruen*, durchgefuehrt. Da er mit anderer Arbeit ueberlastet war, wurde Herr *Erwin Engel* mit dem Veranstaltungsressort betraut.[65]

Der Jugend wurde Moeglichkeit zum *Sportbetrieb* gegeben. Im Kinchow-Heim befindet sich ein grosser Sportplatz, der entsprechend hergerichtete [sic] wurde. Auf ihm wird wochentags gespielt und trainiert und an Sonntagen finden Wettspiele statt, denen oft bis zu 2000 Personen beiwohnen. In allen Heimen haben sich Fussballmannschaften, Ping-Ponggruppen usw. gebildet.

Mit dem *Schulunterricht* hat die Zentral-Heimleitung nicht direkt zu tun, sondern kann nur jene grandiose Arbeit unterstuetzen, die *Mr. Horace Kadoorie* leistet. Er hat im Kinchow-Heim eine vorbildliche Schule eingerichtet, in der rund 600 juedische Kinder von englischen Lehrern in ausgezeichneter Weise unterrichtet werden.

Fuer Kinder im vorschulpflichtigen Alter ist von der Zentral-Heimleitung im Wayside-Heim ein Kindergarten geschaffen worden, in dem rund 60 Kinder betreut werden und ihre Freude finden.

Wirtschaftliche Fragen

Ein grosser Teil der Arbeit der Zentral-Heimleitung muss wirtschaftlichen Dingen gewidmet sein.

Der Einkauf der Lebensmittel, der den Herren Dr. *Loewenstein* und *Loewinger* untersteht, die Anschaffung von Materialien, von Heizmaterial usw. erfordert angesichts der bedeutenden in Bewegung gesetzten Summen grosse kaufmaennische Geschicklichkeit. Die Zentral-Heimleitung glaubt gerade in diesem Belange sehr wertvolle Arbeit geleistet zu haben und fuehrt als ein Beispiel fuer viele andere folgende Tatsachen an:

|11| Im Februar kostete die vom Komitee bei einem Chinesen durchgefuehrte Verpflegung fuer eine einzelne Person 45 Shanghaicent pro Tag. Seither sind infolge der Abwertung des Shanghaidollars nahezu alle Preise auf das Doppelte, sehr viele sogar um mehr gestiegen. Dennoch gelang es der Zentralheimleitung zu erreichen, dass die Verpflegungskosten der einzelnen Person nicht hoeher als auf 52 Cent kamen, wohin sie seit Februar um nicht mehr als

65 Photo below the last line: a big, three-story building with a lawn in front; the caption reads “Kinchow-Heim mit Sportplatz.”

15 Prozent gestiegen sind. Dabei ist festzuhalten, dass weder Qualitaet noch Menge der verabreichten Verpflegung verschlechtert, sondern gerade im Gegenteil wesentlich verbessert wurde.

Auch was *Beamtenstab* und Hilfskraefte anlangt, liess die Zentral-Heimleitung groesste Sparsamkeit walten, wobei sie von den einzelnen Mitarbeitern auf das Beste unterstuetzt wurde. Der gesamte Verwaltungsapparat fuer diese umfangreichen Arbeiten in den Heimen ist sehr gering. Buerochef des Office ist Herr *Guttmann*, sein Vertreter Herr *Gruen*. In den Heimen sind folgende Leiter eingesetzt: *Stern* (Chauofoong); *Reif* (Kinchow), *Blaut* (Pingliang), *Schnitzer* (Alcock), *Wachtel* (Wayside).

Ein Zeugnis der grossen Aufbauarbeit

Dieser trockene und nuechterne, mit Daten, belegte Rechenschaftsbericht der Zentralheimleitung ist ein Dokument eines unermuedlichen Aufbauwerkes, das im Zeitraum von kaum einem Jahr vollbracht werden musste. Wie viele von den Emigranten verliessen das Deutsche Reich mit acht Reichsmark in der Tasche, mit den wichtigsten Gegenstaenden des taeglichen Bedarfes und mit einer Schiffskarte ausgeruestet, fuer eine Reise nach einem fernen Winkel Ostasiens, nicht wissend, ob sie jene notwendige Hilfe finden werden, die ihnen ueber die erste und schwerste Zeit der Emigration hinweghelfen sollte.

Sie haben diese Hilfe gefunden. Man erbaute Heime, damit sie einen Schlaf- und Aufenthaltsraum haben, damit sie nicht obdachlos die Existenz beginnen muessen. Man baute Kuechen fuer sie, um fuer ihre Verpflegung Sorge zu tragen. Man tat das Noetigste, um die erste Phase der Emigration in Shanghai zu erleichtern. Wenn Tausende von Emigranten nach Wochen und Monaten recht und schlecht Fuss fassen und eine kleine Existenz finden konnten, so verdanken manche von ihnen diese Gestaltung nicht zuletzt dem Vorhandensein der Heime, dieser ersten Zufluchtstaetten der Emigration.

Document 131

Willy Hausen[66]
December 19, 1941
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, no. 25, 1.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.7

66 The lawyer Dr. Willy Hausen (c. 1888–?) worked regularly for the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*; cf. Seywald, Journalisten, 276, 319.

Die Gemeinde spricht:

Die Zeiten sind noch ernster geworden. Das Unglueck der juedischen Emigranten, getrennt vom Heimatland, zu dem jetzt auch das letzte Band zerrissen ist, getrennt von ihren Naechsten, die ueber alle Erdteile zerstreut sind, ohne Verbindungsmoeglichkeit zu ihnen, meist noch ohne die geringsten Mittel und Erwerbsmoeglichkeit – es ist so gross, dass man meinen koennte, es ginge ueber menschliche Kraft es zu ertragen. Doch schwere Zeiten erfordern Ausserordentliches, nicht allein von den Juden. Und wir, die wir schon geuebt sind in Leid und Unglueck, wir muessen stark bleiben. Wir duerfen uns nicht erdruecken lassen. Wir muessen unsern Halt suchen in den Wahrheiten unserer Lehre und der der grossen Geister der Menschheit. Wir muessen in uns selbst den Glauben staerken, dass trotz aller Rueckschlaege und trotz allen Kummers der Tag der Erloesung fuer uns kommen wird. Wir muessen Philosophen und Makkabaeer zugleich sein.

Aber weil die Zeiten ernster geworden sind, muss unsere schon oft ausgesprochene Mahnung zu Wuerde und Haltung erneut betont werden. Vergessen wir nie, dass wir, ob wir wollen oder nicht, nach dem Schlechtesten unter uns beurteilt werden. Darum mag sich jeder hueten, unsozial oder gar straffaellig zu werden. Wir muessen von solchen Elementen abruekken im Interesse der Allgemeinheit. Und wehe dem, der dieses Schicksal wird fuehlen muessen. Diese Warnung [sic] sind keine leeren Worte, wir haben ernsten Grund genug, dies eindringlichst auszusprechen. Wir Juden haben die Pflicht, uns in die Verhaeltnisse, die gegeben sind, willig einzuordnen und zu arbeiten: an uns, an unsrer Existenz und an unsrer Gemeinschaft.

An dieser Aufgabenstellung hat sich auch durch den neuesten Kriegsausbruch nichts geaendert. Nur ernster wird dadurch die Pflicht eines jeden, der das Glueck hat, Arbeit gefunden oder sie noch behalten zu haben, diese in Anstand und Ehrlichkeit auszufuehren. Nicht unnuetzes Reden, nicht unnuetzes Herumstehen auf den Strassen und vor den Wechslerlaeden, sondern Ruhe und Wuerde: das ist fuer uns die Forderung des Tages. Den Anordnungen der Behoerden loyalst nachzukommen war schon immer fuer uns selbstverstaendlich. In dieser schweren Zeit moechten wir dies noch einmal hervorheben und besonders davor warnen, Preise unberechtigt zu steigern oder Waren zurueckzuhalten. Mag jeder das Gefuehl haben, dass die Behoerden ihn schuetzen, solange er die Gesetze und Anordnungen, ueber die man sich stets auf dem laufenden halten muss, strikte beachtet. Wir muessen Vertrauen haben zu uns selbst und zu der Gemeinde, die immer mehr dazu berufen wird, unser Geschick zu lenken.

In diesen vom Chanukahlicht geweihten Tagen soll jeder von dem Gedanken erfuellt sein, dass auch fuer ihn das Prophetenwort geschrieben ist: „Fuer immer sollst Du nicht weinen!“[67]
Dr. Hausen

Document 132

Essye
July 4, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 6, 4.
Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Shanghai, eine religioese Stadt

Shanghai, welches von 51 verschiedenen Nationalitaeten bewohnt ist, hat nicht nur den Ruf, die Stadt des Verbrechens und der Seuchen zu sein, sondern Shanghai ist auch ein Olympus der Religionen. Shanghai's aeltester buddistischer Tempel wurde bereits 250 A.D. gebaut und ist noch jetzt an der Ecke Bubbling Well Road/Avenue Haig zu sehen. Der bekannteste Tempel wurde im Jahre 1937 mit der Erlaubnis der Japaner von Nantao nach der franzoesischen Konzession gebracht, wahrscheinlich weil es den buddistischen Goettern in Nantao zu unsicher wurde.[68] Jetzt steht dieser bekannte buddistische Tempel Ecke Avenue Foch und Luzan Road. Ein Teehaus und hunderte von Laeden umgeben diesen Tempel. Im grossen und Ganzen sind Chinesen nicht religioes. Wenn man eine religioese Athmosphaere [sic] finden will, dann muss man sich einige der christlichen Kirchen oder die japanischen Tempel ansehen. Die aelteste Kirche steht seit 1640 in Nantao und es gibt keine christliche Gemeinschaft, welche hier nicht vertreten ist. Da ist die katholische Kathedrale in Zikawei,[69] die groesste Kirche Chinas, die franzoesische Kirche Eglise Saint-Joseph, die russische Kathedrale in [sic] Route Paul Henri, die deutsche Kirche in der Avenue Haig, die amerikanische Kirche in der Avenue Pétain und die englische Kirche in der Kiangse Road. Auch an Synagogen gibt es bekanntlich in Shanghai keinen Mangel, die groessten sind

67 Cf. e.g. Isaiah 30:19 or Ezekiel 24:16.
68 Nantao was an old district of Shanghai that bordered on the French Concession.
69 The local pronunciation of the Shanghai area and the cathedral of the same name (today Xujiahui), built around 1906.

in der Seymour Road, Museum Road und Route [Tenant] de la Tour. Es gibt ebenfalls eine tuerkische Moschee in Shanghai wie auch einen Sikh Tempel, nur gibt es noch keinen Caodaist Tempel in dieser Stadt.

Coadismus[70] [sic] ist die juengste Religion und kam erst im Jahre 1923 in Cochin-China ins Entstehen. Die Glaeubigen glauben an Mahomet, Buddha, Jesus Christus, Confucius, Saint Joan, die franzoesische Heldin, und an Vercingetorix, dem [sic] celtischen Krieger. All diese sollen friedlich im Himmel vereinigt sein.
Essye

Document 133

Adolf Floersheim[71]
August 1, 1942
Published poem, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 9, 3.
Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

Arbeit

Ein junger Familienvater verlaesst
Frau und Kinder um in dem Gebiet
von Hangtschau am Eisenbahnbau teilzunehmen.

Hunger, Not und Pein seit Wochen,
Zerlumpt und muede, schlapp und matt,
Des Abends in das Bett gekrochen,
Weil seit langem nicht mehr satt.

Arbeit kennt man kaum vom sagen,
Ruh und Frieden sind vorbei,
Leben kaum noch wert zu tragen,
Hoert den Ruf, vernehmt den Schrei:
Arbeit!

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70 Caodaism, officially established in October 1926, was first practiced in the southern part of modern Vietnam, then called Cochinchina by the French colonial administration.

71 The List of Foreigners records merchant Floersheim (c. 1909–?), his wife Hanni, and their 10-year-old daughter Marianne.

Gott sei Dank sie bringt Genesung,
Brot und Arbeit rettet uns,
Arbeit ist fuer uns Erloesung,
Denn sie macht die Fesseln frei.

Adolf Floersheim
(Wayside Heim)

Document 134

B. Mandelbaum[72]
1943
Magazine article, in: Der yidisher almanakh – The Jewish Almanac, Shanghai 1943, 13 f.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.5

The Mirrer Yeshivah[73] **in Galuth-Shanghai**
(A page from my Shanghai Diary)

Yeshivoth in Shanghai – what an odd paradox! And only the present wild, unruly, bloody war-epoch could unite such two fundamental contrasts.

Yeshivoth – the highest and most idealistic symbol of heavenly-pur#ed[74] Jewish spirit; of aspiration to human perfection, of renouncement of the "Golden Calf" (עגל־הזהב); of liberation from bodily slavery, – and on the other side: the noisy, wildly- dissolute Shanghai, kneeling to the idol of gold; where man has been transformed into a "coolie," and such is the reference

72 Yaakov (Yankev) Berish Mandelboym (1912–?) was born in Zamość, and was a busy journalist writing for many Yiddish papers in pre-war Poland, some of which he edited. In 1939 he escaped from Warsaw. In Shanghai he contributed to *Unzer lebn* and *Di yidishe shtime fun vaytn mizrekh* (The Jewish Voice from the Far East). He was editor of the latter, and of the Yiddish-English magazine *Der yidisher almanakh – The Jewish Almanac*. After the war he settled in New York, where he worked as a librarian; cf. Khaym-Leyb Fuks, Yankev-Berish Mandelboym (Jacob ber [Berish] Mandelbaum), in: Joshua Fogel (ed.), Yiddish Leksikon, <http://yleksikon.blogspot.de/2017/07/yankev-berish-mandelboym-jacob-ber.html> (September 12, 2017).

73 Cf. ch. 3, n. 128.

74 Possibly "purged."

to all problems of man in life; a city, where the materialistic egotism is the very foundation of its existence; a city, that exhales such air, as is by far too unhealthy to a man with the tiniest ideal within his heart, the more so to a religious Jewish learned man.

And into such a Babylonian city the storm of war has driven several hundred "Bnei-Torah."[75]

In my memory those feelings of dread and apprehension are still intact, those feelings which have filled us when the "Bnei-Torah" have moved from Kobe to Shanghai. My mind was constantly pierced and drilled as though by a worm, by the question: Will they succeed in bringing the great quantity of vital force here also to maintain and develop the treasures of Judaism?

Will not that Shanghai money-jingle drown their soft, wonderful, divine Gemorrah-tune?[76]

Then came the reality and proved the spiritual stability of the "Bnei-Yeshivoth," their moral integrity, and their age-long responsibility for the Jewish people, for the Jewish eternity.

The full-blooded Polish-Jewish community, which has been the spiritual reservoir of the entire Jewish people in their Galuth-dispersion,[77] lies in ruins, bleeding; the Torah-centres, the Yeshivoth, are locked up, and but a small remainder managed to escape the warflames, and those spared by the European fire-deluge feel the historical responsibility, which burdens their shoulders – to guard the spiritual inheritance of the Polish Jewry.

And when the wandering Torah-legion has obtained the possibility to pitch his temporary tents on the shores of Wampoo,[78] he immediately kindled the lights of the Torah. Without a safe base under his feet, in a spiritually ice-cold, frozen atmosphere, they have opened the Gemorras, and behold! The divine miracle happened: A Yeshivah in Shanghai! Museum Road is an oasis in the Shanghai spiritual desert. When one enters there, one stops in deferential astonishment at that mighty forge of Judaism, called the "Mirrer Yeshivah," which stands iron-strong on its post. The heart begins to palpitate faster, louder at the sight of the blooming wavy men-forest at the open Gemorras, and tears of delight are streaming down the face, when one realizes what great mercy the Lord has shown to us by preserving even one spirit-chamber untouched by the all-destroy- |14| ing war-hurricane, so that

75 Literally "sons of the Torah," i.e. Yeshivah students.

76 The Talmud, which is studied aloud by rabbinic students, is composed of two portions; the Mishnah and the Gemarah (pronounced in Yiddish *Gemore*). The latter is a supplement and commentary on the former.

77 *Galut* (Heb.) is exile.

78 Whangpoo.

when the hurricane will be gone and those saved will start the reconstruction of their ruins, this chamber could be the fruitful seed for the spiritual resurrection of the Jewish centres in Europe. Indeed, it will be marked with golden letters in the Jewish History of the present period that the spiritual giant called "Mirrer Yeshivah" has undergone and survived the fire-test of today's world-cataclysm. During the 4 years of wanderings he did not for one moment even loosen his hold on the Torah-torch. Wherever he used to rest his tired feet, immediately there the Torah-voice was heard. Even more: The "Mirrer Yeshivah" emmerged [sic] from the present world-catastrophe spiritually strengthened and morally uplifted, comprehending her pioneer-role and designation in the future.

A chapter by itself are the two devoted guardians of this Torah-treasure – the Mashgiach (משגיח)[79] of the Yeshivah, the great bearer of "Musor"-thoughts,[80] Rabbi Iehezkiel [sic] Levenstein, and the Dean of the Yeshivah (ראש־ישיבה), the famous Gaon Rabbi Chaim Shmulevich.[81] But too tight is the frame of this article – and perhaps it is beyond my authority to characterize in full these two great personalities. However, this must be impressed upon the future generations: If the Mirrer Yeshivah has succeeded in preserving her wonderful, idealistic concord and spiritual integrity, it happened thanks to these her two leaders, whose life-vigour and refreshing dew have irrigated all the Yeshivah-limbs. They are watching over the Yeshivah, as a devoted father does over his cherished only son; they lead her carefully along the proper Torah-path; they protect her from the stormy time-waves and enroll her in a steel coat-of-mail to shield her from all the hardships of our generation.

Indeed, the Mirrer Yeshivah in Galuth-Shanghai is an enchanted hero-epos of spiritual giants, which awaits the poet who will feature her, and that will be the grandest, most beautiful page of her famous, nearly 130-years-old, history.

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79 Literally "supervisor," a spiritual mentor. This was the title used for a rabbi at a Yeshivah affiliated with the Musar Movement (see next note) who managed the Yeshivah's non-academic issues. His position was eminently respectable.

80 Heb. *musar*, "moral". In the second half of the nineteenth century, a religious renewal movement was founded in Lithuania; its most prominent leader was the orthodox rabbi Israel Salanter (1810–1883). For Salanter, the moral development of each individual was the center of traditional Jewish life, in particular his fear of God, piety, charity and virtue. The Mir Yeshivah was affiliated with the Musar Movement.

81 After the Yeshivah left its hometown of Mir, Chaim Leib Shmuelevitz (Shmuelevicz; 1902–1979) became its head; Yechezkel Levenstein (1885–1974) continued to serve as its Mashgiah. Both eventually joined the Mir Yeshivah's branch in Jerusalem.

Happy is the nation, that has such a youth and such devoted guardians of its culture-treasures! No storm can destroy it, and it may calmly look into the future. Its eternity is insured – the Torah is its shield.
Translated from Jewish[82] by L. Elenberg

Document 135

Anonymous
December 5, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 5.
NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

Umstellung auf Stromeinsparung

Die Ankuendigung der Restriktionsmassnahmen im Gas-, vor allem aber Elektrizitaetsverbrauch in Shanghai, die praktisch am 1. Dezember in Kraft getreten ist, hat natuerlich in allen Bevoelkerungskreisen Besorgnis hervorgerufen. Obwohl man sich ueber die Auswirkungen noch kein Bild machen kann, sind ueberall Vorbereitungen getroffen oder im Gange, um sich auf die neuen Verhaeltnisse so schnell wie moeglich umzustellen. Das Friseurgewerbe hat vor kurzem den Geschaeftsschluss auf 6 Uhr abends festgesetzt, waehrend man vorher noch oft gegen 8 Uhr zu einer schnellen Verschoenerung zurechtkam. Auch die uebrige Geschaeftswelt erwaegt Einschraenkungen der Verkaufszeiten. Fuer die Geschaefte im Distrikt wuerde ein frueherer Ladenschluss sicherlich Nachteile haben, da erfahrungsgemaess gerade einheimische Kunden erst in den spaeteren Abendstunden ihre Einkaeufe zu machen pflegten, sodass oft gerade kurz vor Ladenschluss das Geschaeft noch einen lohnenden „Stoss“ bekam. Wie immer bei neuen Strom-Einschraenkungen, ist das Gasthausgewerbe besonders stark betroffen, das gerade in den Wintermonaten seinen Betrieb bei vollem Licht fuehren muss und ohnehin zur Zeit grosse Sorgen hinsichtlich der Loesung des Beheizungsproblems hat.

Bei der in Aussicht genommenen durchschnittlichen Berechnung des frueheren Verbrauchs als Basis fuer die zukuenftige Zuteilung von Strom sind in erster Linie diejenigen Verbraucher schlecht daran, die in chinesische Haueser [sic] eingezogen sind und sich einen Unterzaehler angeschafft ha-

82 Yiddish.

ben. In diesen Haeusern war zumeist der auf den Hauptzaehler entfallende Verbrauch minimal, sodass sich, besonders wenn mehrere Familien in ein solches Haus waehrend der letzten Zeit eingezogen sind, für den einzelnen Verbraucher ein sehr niedriger Durchschnitt ergibt. Ob im Wege von Eingaben in solchen Faellen Erleichterungen gegeben werden, steht zurzeit noch nicht fest und wird sich zweifellos erst aus der Praxis ergeben.

Waehrend die einheimischen Bewohner Shanghais bisher meist und namentlich die in Hongkew lebenden Lanebewohner konservativ an der Benutzung von Kohlenoefen sowohl zum Kochen als auch zum Heizen festgehalten haben, sind viele von ihnen waehrend der letzten Wochen dazu uebergegangen, sich des elektrischen Stroms zu bedienen. Infolgedessen gab es in der letzten Zeit eine enorme Nachfrage nach elektrischen Kochern oder Heizapparaten aller Art. Eine grosse Konjunktur erlebten auch die Heisswasserkuechen, die infolgedessen seit dem 1. Dezember ihre Preise empfindlich erhoeht haben. Die Power Company hat im Zusammenhang mit der Kohlenverknappung wahrscheinlich die hoehere Beanspruchung von Strom vorausgesehen und in erster Linie aus diesem Grunde die Restriktionsmassnahmen beschlossen.

Die neuen Stromsparmassnahmen sind auf das Installationsgewerbe nicht ohne Einfluss geblieben. In vielen Faellen wurden insbesondere Bestellungen auf elektrische Oefen rueckgaengig gemacht, da die Besteller fuerchten, sie auf Grund der neuen Stromzustellung doch nicht benuetzen zu koennen. Auf der anderen Seite entstand eine grosse Nachfrage nach Unterzaehlern, da die Besitzer von Hauptzaehlern Differenzen mit Mitbenutzern des Stroms vermeiden wollen und bei Anbringung eines Unterzaehlers eine genaue Kontrolle haben.

Document 136

F. K.
July 31/August 2, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 5, no. 26, 6.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.7

Bedeutung, Entstehung und Aufgabe der Foreign Pao Chia

Pao Chia[83] bezeichnet Gemeinschaftsschutz, geboren aus der Gemeinschaft. *Pao Chia* besagt nichts anderes als das alte europäische Wort: „*Einer fuer Alle – Alle fuer Einen.*"

Pao Chia ist der in Ostasien selbst innerhalb der kleinsten Gemeinschaft gegebene Selbstschutz seit hunderten von Jahren. Als daher im Herbst 1942 die Behörden beschlossen, das Pao-Chia-System auch auf das Gebiet nördlich des Soochow-Creeks auszudehnen und die dort lebenden Ausländer in einer Foreign-Pao-Chia-Organisation zusammenzufassen, war dies lediglich eine Folge der Tatsache, dass auch die Ausländer ihren Gemeinschaftsanteil zum Selbstschutz innerhalb Shanghais beizutragen hätten.

Am 14. September 1942 wurden [sic] den mitteleuropäischen und russischen Emigranten-Organisationen die Mitteilung von der Bildung einer Foreign Pao Chia gemacht. Bei dieser Besprechung waren seitens der Behörde die Herren Yamaguchi, Yasuda, Yoshida, Gigarsen [sic], Kovacz [sic] vom S.M.P.,[84] Herr General-Director Kubota vom Stateless Refugee Bureau, Herr Dr. Kardegg, Herr Leichter von der jüdischen Gemeinde sowie Vertreter der russischen Emigranten-Organisation anwesend. Es wurde festgelegt, dass ab 1.10.42 sämtliche männlichen Bewohner im Alter von 20–45 Jahren ihrer Dienstpflicht innerhalb der Foreign Pao Chia nachzukommen haben. Da niemand anderer in der Lage war, diese harte und langwierige Vorarbeit zeitgerecht zu erledigen, wurden die Vertreter der Jüdischen Gemeinde mit dieser Aufgabe betraut. Am 29. September war die Arbeit geleistet, die Aufgabe erfüllt, die Behörde in jeder Hinsicht zufriedengestellt, und die Herren Doktor Kardegg und Leichter wurden als Leiter der Foreign Pao Chia bestellt.

Am 1.10. mittags 12 Uhr begann der erste offizielle Dienst. Es mögen anfangs etwa 2000 Männer gewesen sein, die die Behörden darin unterstützen, Frieden und Ordnung aufrecht zu erhalten. Wer Hongkew noch von früher kennt, wird sich am besten beim Zurückdenken an die damaligen Verhältnisse ein Bild machen können, welche immense Kleinarbeit von allen Membern der Foreign Pao Chia bis zum heutigen Tag geleistet worden ist. Halten wir uns einige Kleinigkeiten vor Augen: bereits im ersten Monat der Tätigkeit der Foreign Pao Chia konnte dieselbe in 66 Fällen Verbrechen verhüten oder die Täter verhaften. Waren es damals etwa 2000 Member, so hat sich der Stand infolge eingetretener Umstände inzwischen bis Mitte dieses Jahres auf ca. 3600 erhöht. Hierbei ist zu beachten, dass die Mitglieder der russischen Emigration nicht mehr in unserer Foreign Pao Chia, sondern in der russi-

83 Chinese term used for self-protection organizations.

84 About Yamaguchi, see Document 156; Kovacs, see Documents 67 and 156.

schen Pao Chia Dienst machen. Vom Oktober 42 bis März 44 hat die Foreign Pao Chia in 1186 Fällen intervenieren können. In dem gleichen Zeitraum wurden 387 803 Dienststunden absolviert. War seinerzeit der District in die 3 Bezirke Hongkew, Wayside, Yulin aufgeteilt, so mussten nach Veröffentlichung der Proklamation bezgl. Der „Designated Aera [sic]" neue Bezirke gebildet werden, die heute noch unter der Bezeichnung Wayside-West-, -East, -Central und Yulin bestehen.

Die Aufgaben der Foreign Pao Chia blieben im Laufe der Zeit dann nicht nur auf die eigentliche Tätigkeit als Wachkorps zur Unterstützung der Polizei begrenzt, sondern neue Aufgaben traten hinzu. So wurde die Organisation beauftragt, die durch die Zeit bedingten Luftschutzübungen vorzunehmen. Auch diese Aufgabe wurde, soweit es die Mittel u. Kräfte gestatteten, zur Zufriedenheit der Behörden gelöst. An dieser Aufgabe wird aber ständig im Interesse jedes Einzelnen weitergearbeitet. Unter Leitung von Aerzten steht im Ernstfall ein medizinischer Dienst zur Verfügung. Jeder Pao wird in der Lage sein, durch mindestens eine Rettungsstelle, versehen mit dem notwendigen Material, im Ernstfall die „Erste Hilfe" leisten zu können.

Aber auch innerhalb der eigentlichen Pao-Chia-Organisation wurden und waren Erweiterungen notwendig, verbunden mit unglaublicher Kleinarbeit. Es musste eine Kontrolle des Strassendienstes eingerichtet werden, diese erfolgt durch Inspektoren. Es musste auch im Interesse des Ansehens der Foreign Pao Chia eine Stelle geschaffen werden, die die Ahndung von Vergehen im Dienste vornehmen konnte. Zu diesem Zweck wurde der Disciplinary Board geschaffen.

Inzwischen wurde auch eine Youth Division ins Leben gerufen, da in einem Ernstfall möglicherweise auch die Jugend zur Mitarbeit herangezogen werden könnte. Mit Fleiss und Eifer arbeitet nun auch unsere Jugend innerhalb unserer Gemeinschaft für die Gemeinschaft mit.

Mit der Bildung der „Designated Aera" wurden [sic] ausser den bereits erwähnten Pflichten die Foreign Pao Chia auch noch mit den Aufgaben betraut, die Pass- und Grenzkontrollen durchzuführen.

Alle übertragenen Aufgaben wurden pflichtgemäss erfüllt, das geht nicht nur aus dem Dank und der Anerkennung der Behörden hervor, sondern auch aus der Tatsache, dass die gesamte hiesige Presse wiederholt Gelegenheit nahm, lobend und anerkennend die Tätigkeit der Foreign Pao Chia der Oeffentlichkeit zur Kenntnis zu bringen. Diese Anerkennungen gelten nicht nur der Leitung und den Officers der Foreign Pao Chia, sondern insbesonders dem einzelnen Pao-Chia-Mann, der oft unter schweren Bedingungen diese gerade nicht immer angenehme Pflicht bei jeglichem Wetter erfüllt hat. F. K.

Document 137

A. G.[85]
May 26, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 155, 2.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Arta's Second Exhibition
Sponsored by the Bureau for Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs

The 2nd Exhibition of ARTA (Association of Jewish Artists and Lovers of Fine Art)[86] inaugurated at 10 a.m. on May 22nd at the Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co., sponsored by the Bureau for the Shanghai Stateless Refugee Affairs, proved a conspicuous affair, with Mr. T. Kubota, Director of the Bureau, and a number of Japanese, Chinese, and foreign guests present.

It was a pleasure to see the works of the Jewish artists exhibited in a spacious, well-lighted rooms [sic] in the centre of the city and hear the appreciation of their art voiced by the art-lovers of Shanghai's international community. Most of the paintings shown here we had seen at ARTA's First Exhibition in the S.J.Y.A. School in the Designated Area in March, but quite a few have been added, some being products of the last two months' work.

Mr. T. Kubota, in a cursory interview with the representative of "Our Life," said that this Exhibition has been organized by the Shanghai Stateless Refugees Bureau with a view to helping the refugee artists to sell their pictures. "The prices for pictures are quite cheap," said he, "for anyway it is usually the richest men of the city who buy pictures, all the others merely come to admire them."

As a detailed review of the works of the seven artists was published by us after ARTA's 1st Exhibition, we shall mention here only some of the best pictures exhibited for the first time. In our opinion, to these belong: Ernst Handel's "Old Man," "Waterstreet" and "Going Home," especially the latter, in which the yellow colour of the harvest is as "warm" as it possibly could be; E. Bloch's[87] inimitable flowers: "Anemones" and "Water Lilies"; Fredden-Gold-

85 This may have been Anna Ginsbourg who regularly wrote for *Nasha zhizn*/*Our Life*; see ch. 3, n. 121.

86 Founded in 1942, ARTA aimed to organize fine arts exhibitions; cf. Françoise Kreissler, L'action culturelle allemande en Chine. De la fin du XIXe siècle à la Seconde Guerre mondiale, Paris 1989, 118 f.

87 Erroneous; should be David Ludwig Bloch.

berg's "Iron Mill" and "Street in Shanghai;" H. Jacoby's "Landscape" and Max Heymann's[88] "Church" and "Hyacinthes" [sic], the latter being a most interesting composition of still life. Comprising altogether 103 paintings, the Exhibition is not only most interesting, but also versatile in the sense of representing all manners of art from oils and water-colours to pencil, pen, crayon etc. and a diversity of themes ranging from European landscapes to studies of emigré life in Shanghai and scenes of Chinese life.

The Exhibition has been given wide publicity in all local papers including Japanese and Chinese and it is to be hoped that it will be widely patronized. Its additional attraction (in the light vein) is that each visitor can have himself or herself sketched by one of the artists on the spot for only $ 100, which opportunity will be undoubtedly, enjoyed by many.
A. G.

Document 138

A. G.[89]
November 24, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 180, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Keep Calm!

The war, the horrors of which we have luckily been spared up till now, has suddenly approached Shanghai, and this city has been subjected to two air-raids in course of one week.

In face of danger which such air-raids present to the civilian population, especially in thickly inhabited districts of the city, we should like to address some words of advice to the residents of the Designated Area. This advice is by no means intended to interfere with the sphere of the A.R.P.[90] thoroughly taught to all members of the European Pao-chia Corps who already had opportunity to demonstrate their excellent preparedness to up-keep good order in time of emergency. It is meant only in the way of suggesting some rules of personal behaviour to the emigrants during air-raids and convincing them

88 Actually Heimann.
89 This may have been Anna Ginsbourg, see ch. 3, n. 121.
90 Air Raid Protection.

by force of own experience that danger lies much more in their non-conforming with these rules than in the missiles falling from above.

These rules of personal behaviour are:

1. Remember that your safety and that of your family depends largely upon your ability to keep composure in time of emergency.

2. If anyone around you is getting panicky, use all your influence to help him regain his balance, remembering that the state of panic is very infectious.

3. After the siren had sounded think first of the rules of A.R.P. Check well whether you have fully conformed with all of them.

4. Unless called for A.R.P. duty, remain indoors and continue with your occupation inducing those around you to do the same.

5. Realize once for all and preach it to those around you that your home is the safest place for you except for an air-raid shelter and that the chance of it being made an enemy objective is much slighter than that of your becoming a flying missile's target anywhere outside.

6. Keep your children around you and entertain them so as to divert their attention from the state of emergency.

7. Learn beforehand of the rules of attending your children's School during air-raids and the precautionary measures adopted by the School. This will prevent you from becoming nervous if the children are in school when the air-raid began.

8. Try to store food for several days at home when air-raids become a frequent occurrence.

9. Keep a kit with documents, valuables, toilet articles and some food handy in case of necessity to leave your house at short notice.

10. Keep a vessel full of water for drinking purposes constantly replenishing it.

11. Store some matches and fuel.

12. Having conscientiously conformed to the above eleven rules, convince yourself that you have done all in your power to ensure your safety and calmly attend to your daily duties, delivering the rest in the hands of Fate!

A. G.

Document 139

M. K in.
December 1, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 181, 1 f.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

"Dreimaederlhaus" Enchants Music Lovers in Repeat Performance

Franz Shubert's [sic] melody-filled "Dreimaederlhaus" was presented to an admiring and enthusiastic audience at the Eastern Theatre on Monday 27th inst. Incidentally, it was a special repeat performance which spoke well for the popularity and success of the Light Opera and the cast.

The story deals with the three daughters of a Viennese glassmaker. Two of them, thanks to the kind intervention of Franz Shubert at a critical moment, are able to marry their sweethearts, while the third is courted by a handsome Baron and his dearest friend, the composer himself. The latter, being of an extremely timid disposition, is unable to express his love for her in words. However, calling music to his aid he writes a love song and asks the Baron to sing it to her who inspired it. The song "Dein ist mein Herz" so captivates the girl that she falls into the arms of the singer – and not the composer. Shubert, unhappy and yet glad to see those he loves united, turns to his music for consolation. A few complications in the form of a temperamental Italian singer, her jealous lover and a foolish detective provide much food for laughter.

Special mention must be made of Rosl Albach Gerstel's |2| beautiful voice, Leopold Brodmann's[91] five yodelings and Lily Flohr's really talented acting. Hers is a perfect sense of comedy and the scenes she appeared in, though few in number, brought the house down.

A few technical details could be improved upon and we beg leave to say the following: firstly, the stage was too small, so much so, that there was scarcely room for dancing and free movement. Secondly, that the orchestra though playing very well, was too loud when accompanying the soloists. They should not take the lead at such times but should subdue themselves and be only a background for the voice. Thirdly, that the first row was too close to

91 Brodmann (c. 1892–?) was a merchant from Vienna. The List of Foreigners indicates his occupation as "tea room partner." He also appeared on stage as an actor and singer, occasionally under the name Leo Bortner; cf. Philipp, Thespiskarren, 162. A short documentary on the Brodmann family is available at <http://www.centropa.org/node/52714?language=de> (October 10, 2016).

the musicians and those of the audience seated therein were, so to speak, seated in [sic] the lap of the orchestra which caused much inconvenience to the latter.

But enough. We pronounce "Dreimaederlhaus" a thoroughly worthwhile and enjoyable evening's entertainment. How could it be otherwise with such a cast and such gay and tender soul-stirring music as only Franz Shubert could write?… Dreimaederlhaus will be repeated again on Sunday December 3.
M. K in.

Document 140

E. Lebon
December 22, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 184, 3.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Refugee University

There is, not only in Shanghai and East Asia but even in other parts of the world, possibly no cultural institution with such peculiar history as the Asia Seminar, created by the will power and spiritual idealism of one man, W. Y. Tonn. He, who has studied at the Berlin University specializing in Chinese, Sanskrit, Hebrew and other Asiatic languages and history of culture, and travelled all over Europe and Western Asia, chose to come to the Far East when we had to leave Germany, being a Jew, in order to continue his studies on Asiatic cultures on the spot. He has done a lot of scientific research work, part of it interesting also for laymen, especially his studies as to the immigration of Jews into China during the 4th century B.C. (he maintains). His interesting assertions are based on three Jewish inscriptions on stones in Kai-Feng, as well as on the fact that these Jews knew neither the Talmud nor the Purim traditions and were still using the calendar of the Persian Seleucidian era, which relegates their immigration to the time before the 3rd century B.C. According also to more recent stone inscriptions in Loyang,[92] the Jews were thus the first Westerners to reach China – as tradesmen, not as refugees – and

92 Luoyang.

to build up trade and thus also cultural connections between the East and the West.

In spite of the fact that Tonn on the basis of his great knowledge and close familiarity with the Chinese and other oriental cultures could have found a new spiritual motherland in the Asiatic nations, he feels a member of the refugee community in Shanghai and dedicated the whole of his efforts to kindle the spark of spiritual life among the Jewish refugees, to arise and keep alive their interest in studying the cultures of the Asiatic people of China, Japan, India and Israel, and to demonstrate the interwovenness and mutual influences active in these cultures. I remember, for instance, from one of the recent lectures of W. Y. Tonn on the teachings of Buddha who lived about in the same period as the Great Jewish teacher of religion Ezra – this interesting parallel between the Jewish Messianic idea and the corresponding conception of Mahayana Buddhism.

Idea Becomes Reality

As far back as May 1939, W. Y. Tonn began the planning of some kind of a "People's University" of Jewish refugees in East Asia. Everybody who has lived the last 5 years among refugees will know that under the prevailing atmosphere of the hard struggle for life, there were hardly any views of awakening public interest for such spiritual undertaking. Unfortunately it must be said that the Jewish organizations too did not lend any assistance at all to these cultural plans. But Tonn is not the man to be discouraged. On November 2nd 1942, his program was first published in the Shanghai Times.

In September 1943, upon his removal into the Designated Area, I met W. Y. Tonn for the first time. The first impression when entering his room was that I came into a huge library, with precious scientific and literary editions on boards along the biggest wall of the room, from the floor to the ceiling, while more cases with books were placed in the corridor. Dominating the whole, a rare, 200 years old edition of the Talmud, printed in Sulzbach in Germany. Against this background, I beheld a man of somewhat "bohemian" intellectual type, with long hair, long nails on the small fingers and an impressive lean face, with deep furrows worn out by intellectual work and by the daily struggle he was waging against the indifference of the public and the lack of understanding on the part of the Jewish Committees and organizations concerned. Fortunately, the authorities to whom Tonn was known by his articles on Asiatic subjects in the press, displayed understanding and thus W. Y. Tonn was able, on September 28th (the birthday of Confucius) 1943, to begin with the first semester of the Asia Seminar.

Against Heavy Odds

He worked against heavy odds. The lecture hall was a small room, of the usual type of Hongkew living rooms, in which during the day lessons in typewriting and shorthand were given. One or two dozen people came to listen to the first lectures, and of these only every fifth paid the small college fee, while W. Y. Tonn maintained that people unable to pay must not be excluded from cultural work. During the first three semesters, about 250–280 hearers listened to the lectures, with 400 registrations taking place. No evident symptoms of a further development of the Asia Seminar arose during this time. Still, Tonn was right when he said that it is easier to arouse interest than to keep it alive, and that it was a good symptom that the numbers did not decrease, and this despite cold, heavy rains, blackouts during the evening hours in winter, and heat and the unsuited room in summer. Patiently working on in spite of financial difficulties – each semester ended with a financial deficit, while the lecturers could only be paid a negligible amount – he collected around him a small but loyal nucleus of teachers and students, who thankfully acknowledged the achievements scored. I spoke to one of the students, an elderly man stricken by family grief who was on the way to utter despondency, unable to bear this life which had no sense for him when he, by chance, came to one of the lectures of the Asia Seminar and became one of its disciples. His spiritual life was awakened once more and he found contentment in studies and cultural work. As to the teachers, they are thankful for the opportunity of lecturing in their respective lines, since formerly they had only the possibility of making studies for themselves without any spiritual intercourse and stimulus.

During the present semester, a turning point was achieved in the history of the Asia Seminar. While the authorities continued to display a friendly attitude, W. Y. Tonn was able to secure a classroom of the SJYA school twice a week and as a result of his patient and consequent work, the number of hearers in the present semester, even up to now, rose already to #00[93] persons, while 1200 registrations took place and an average of 25–60 visitors listened to every lecture. Thus complete success in the field of culture can be booked, while the financial situation still remains, as far as I know, tense. I heard that, in line with the general increase of economic difficulties in daily life, only 5 % of the hearers were able to pay the very modest college fee while part of the lecturers have to struggle against wa###[94] and cold and malnutrition which sometimes hampers the studies.

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93 First digit illegible due to crease.

94 Illegible due to crease.

Staff and Work

Who are those lecturers? Besides Mr. Tonn himself – at present suffering from some disease caused by irregular meals – but leaving bed and reading his lectures there is, to list only some of the 30 lecturers, Rabbi Hillel Mannes, the head of the Talmud Torah School, Architect Ponzen, former head of the architectural department of the Vienna Jewish Community, who built the monument for Jewish war dead [sic],[95] and whose interesting recent lecture on Jewish architecture is to be completed next week and will be dealt with in a separate article, Dr. Radinger,[96] lecturer of the Aurora University,[97] Dr. Spiewkowsky,[98] a physician, and others. The subjects of the lectures are varied and of academic niveau, and included, for instance, a course by Tonn in Chinese history and culture, Veda and Upanishad (India). Furthermore, there were lectures on Japanese art – to be reported in a special article, a comprehensive survey of Jewish literature (Cohn), modern physics (Weiner, former lecturer of the Lester Institute),[99] a lecture on the general principles of education and teaching, the lecture of G. Looser on Jewish history. An interesting subject was broached by Rabbi Sober in his lecture on Martin Buber and his teaching.

Buber is known to every Jew, and especially to every German Jew. In the field of literature, his works are of the finest well modelled poetic style while his translation of the Bible – though some may find it too mystic – is in any case a masterpiece of art. But the importance of Buber is not in these literary achievements, it is in his role as a fighter for Jewish unity, action, and Messianic future (Three Speeches on Judaism).[100] And his teachings are action

95 The memorial in honor of the Viennese Jewish soldiers who died in World War I was erected in 1928 at the Central Cemetery in Vienna; cf. Michael Berger, Für Kaiser, Reich und Vaterland. Jüdische Soldaten – eine Geschichte vom 19. Jahrhundert bis heute, Zurich 2015, 145.

96 Egon (Josef) Radinger (c. 1895–?) was a chemist from Austria. In Shanghai, he became a member of the board of Catholic Refugees in Shanghai; cf. Freyeisen, Shanghai, 437.

97 This university was founded in 1903 by a Chinese Jesuit, and run by French Jesuits until 1952.

98 Rudolf Spiewkowski (c. 1895–?) was a physician from Germany. The Emigranten Adressbuch, 114, lists his name as Spiewkovsky.

99 The Henry Lester Institute of Technical Education, which was opened in 1934.

100 Buber (1878–1965) was one of the most influential German-Jewish thinkers of the twentieth century. One of his main intellectual objectives was to familiarize secularized Western Jews with Eastern European Judaism, especially Hasidism. From 1925 to 1929, he and the philosopher Franz Rosenzweig translated the Hebrew Bible into German, attempting to keep the phonetic and connotative quality of the Hebrew

in the spiritual field. Buber is one of those, who are turning Jewish world outlook – oriental in its essence – into an acceptable active momentum for the occidental cultures. While the occident is trying to take possession of the world as it is, for the oriental thought the world is a task to be fulfilled. For the occidental spirit the effect is what matters, for the oriental the correct way, the inner decision, or, as Buber puts it, "action." Thus Buber, concentrating the essence of Jewish thought and history, is one of those who, like the whole Jewish people, maybe are the mediators between Orient and Occident, the creators of spiritual and cultural unity.

Document 141

Kurt Lewin[101]
March 25, 1946
Published poem, in: The Shanghai Herald, no. 24, 4.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Der Wochensalat

Alles muss sich einmal wenden,
und sogar die Woche enden.
Doch jetzt fehlt mir guter Rat
fuer den Wochenendsalat.
Nuernberg[102] zieht nach alter Weise,
immer weiter seine Kreise
und nach Goerings Groessenwahn
ist jetzt Julius Streicher dran.
Dieser Bluthund und Verbrecher
von Beruf Germanenraecher
wurd' gefragt vom Praesident:

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language in the German translation. Buber's *Drei Reden über das Judentum* (1911) is considered to be one of the most influential essays on Judaism of his time.

101 Berlin-born Kurt Lewin (pseudonym Klewing; 1908–1950?) was an actor, journalist, and writer. He published (together with Alfred Dreifuss) the paper *Die Tribüne* from 1941 to 1943 in Shanghai, as well as a volume, *Shanghai und Wir. Essays* (1943). The socialist Lewin returned to East Berlin in 1947, but later moved to the West.

102 The Nuremberg Trials started on November 20, 1945.

„Woher er den Talmud kennt?“,
denn die hetzerischen Flueche
wuerzte er durch Talmudsprueche,
die man ihm, sagt er verletzt,
voellig falsch hat uebersetzt.[103]
Konnte er sich nicht aus Polen
‘nen Jeschiwe Bocher[104] holen?
Der mit ihm, bis er krepiert,
haett’ den Talmud ausstudiert.
Jetzt steht dieser Mordgeselle,
endlich an der richt’gen Stelle,
ach, wie gerne moecht’ das Schwein,
wohl jetzt selber Jude sein.
Iran[105] hat in diesen Tagen
schrecklich viel der Welt zu sagen,
laut von seines Landes Stufen
tut es Mama UNO rufen.
Doch der Ordnung halber wegen,
sind die Russen strikt dagegen.
Doch ich glaube, dass im Lenz,
steigt die UNO Konferenz.
Frankreich hat auch seine Helden,
wie die Blaetter taeglich melden
Herr Petiot[106] bracht’ um, nach Listen,

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103 As early as 1929–1930, the notorious Nazi propagandist Julius Streicher, owner of the anti-Semitic hate paper *Der Stürmer*, and its managing editor Karl Holz were sued before the court of Nuremberg for “insulting the Jewish religious community;” cf. Wolfgang Benz (ed.), Handbuch des Antisemitismus. Judenfeindschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 8, Munich 2015, 45. The insults, based on false citations of the Talmud, were brought up again during the Nuremberg war crimes trial on March 23, 1946, two days before the *Wochensalat* was published. For a transcript of the 1946 trial minutes cf. Internationaler Militärgerichtshof Nuremberg (ed.), Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof, Nürnberg, 14. November – 1. Oktober 1946, vol. 9, Nuremberg 1948, 767–782.

104 Yidd., Yeshivah student.

105 The Iran crisis lasted from 1945 to 1946. The USSR refused to withdraw its troops from Iran, and supported a plan for the establishment of independent Azeri and Kurdish states on Iranian territory. The USSR finally agreed to withdraw its troops on March 2, 1946.

106 Marcel Petiot (1897–1946) was a French mass murderer. Though he killed Jews primarily for personal gain, he claimed that he had only killed collaborators and traitors;

Vive la France, – Kollaboristen.
Und damit vertilgt' die Meute,
killte er auch gleich die Braeute.
Schickte alles in den Tod,
mordete, – als Patriot.
Dieser Kerl, Nationenschaender
Zeigt den Geist, den viele Laender,
durch des dritten Reichs Gewalten,
in der Schreckenszeit erhalten.
Heute ist das Spiel zu Ende,
und die blut'gen Moerderhaende,
aller Voelker und Nationen,
die auf diesem Erdball wohnen,
werden niemehr sich erheben.
Menschenrecht und Glueck soll leben.
Der Faschisten Tyrrannei [sic],
sei fuer alle Zeit vorbei.
So, das Ganze zur Verdauung,
wuerzen Sie mit Weltanschauung,
unterdessen haelt parat
neuen Wochenendsalat
bis er gar ist und gediehn,
in Verehrung
Kurt Lewin

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cf. David King, Death in the City of Light. The Serial Killer of Nazi-Occupied Paris, New York 2011.

Chapter 7
Culture, Theater, and Entertainment

Introduction

Entertainment in German and Yiddish, including cabaret and theater performances, musical evenings, orchestra and operas as well as exhibitions of paintings, was very important in exile life. Not only did it provide opportunities for the considerable number of artists to remain active, it also allowed them to earn a small income. For those refugees who could afford the price of a ticket a few hours of forgetfulness from daily cares were more than significant. Yet, looking back at those Shanghai years and at a population many of whom had barely escaped with their lives, one cannot but admire their strength of spirit. To create make-believe theater under conditions far from favorable required commitment and devotion in addition to the knowledge that acting was helping their own and others' spiritual survival.[1] Shanghai, where a lively Chinese entertainment industry flourished, may have also played a role in the growth of exile entertainment. Even if Chinese theater was as yet not popular among the immigrants, dance halls, cabarets, and similar establishments proliferated and were widely frequented by those who could afford them.[2]

Still, conditions for theatrical performances were grim in Shanghai at the end of the 1930s when the first refugees arrived and did not improve significantly even thereafter. The lack of a proper stage was a major problem. There were a number of movie theaters, but the stages were narrow and prevented the free movements of actors, to say nothing of the rental fees, which consumed most of the money from tickets sold. Stages in schools and the refugee camps were also woefully small. Lack of scenery and stage props were another problem. Although rentals were possible, these required rental fees and the refugees had little money. Costumes were also a problem. A tailor might prepare them, but again money was needed. Then there was the scarcity of

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1 Sports had an important place in refugee life: soccer, football, ping pong, and boxing were enthusiastically supported, drawing crowds of both participants and spectators. However, though some might consider sports "entertainment," conceptual and practical differences made it more useful to exclude them from this chapter.

2 Cf. Field, Shanghai's Dancing World, passim, for an excellent picture of Shanghai's lively scene.

theater literature and librettos. These could not be purchased and only a few refugees packed some in the light luggage they brought along.[3]

Despite these difficulties several kinds of entertainment began already in 1939, as soon as refugees started to arrive in Shanghai. Just how this occurred, whether spontaneously by individual artists, or whether as a result of some kind of organization, is not clear. No doubt it was due to the fact that among the arrivals were a number of performers, for these too had lost their positions and incomes soon after the Nazi regimes came to power in Germany and Austria. It is also related to the fairly rapid growth of the coffee house culture that developed in neighborhoods where refugees resided. Here singers might entertain, or musicians perform in the cafes. The presence of an audience anxious to snatch a few light moments from their otherwise depressing existence is also significant. That some of the early performances were held in the shelters as variety evenings ("bunte Abende") comes as no surprise.[4]

How many performers of various kinds, musicians, singers, actors, and the like, were in Shanghai at the time is hard to say. There probably were well over two hundred,[5] but this figure does not include the Yiddish actors in Shanghai during the war years. Most of the performers had had thriving careers in Germany or Austria before they fled to the metropolis. Among them were Lily Flohr, actress and singer, and Jenny Rausnitz, both of whom were extremely popular; Fritz Heller, actor and comic who charmed all audiences; and the entertainers Gerhard Gottschalk and Herbert Zernik. There were also gifted directors like Alfred Dreifuss, Fritz Melchior, and Boris Sapiro.

Taking into account the difficulties in staging theatrical performances, the number of operettas and even occasional operas between 1939 and 1946 is truly amazing. There were operas like *Carmen* and *Cavalleria Rusticana* (Document 160) and operettas by Johann Strauss as well as serious plays, like Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* (Document 155).[6] The operettas were especially appreciated by audiences who sought entertainment rather than intellectual challenges. Perhaps one of the reasons for the large variety of plays was the fact that generally a performance was staged only once. Audiences were never large and additional performances would have been a financial drain. Finally, even more plays would have been performed had the Japanese censorship

3 Philipp, Thespiskarren, 52–55.

4 Alfred Dreifuss, Unser Theater, in: The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer 37 (April 1946), 13.

5 Michael Philipp, Selbstbehauptung im Exil. Theater in Shanghai, in: Zwischenwelt 18,1 (February 2001), 46–51, here 46.

6 Ibid., 185–196, lists the performances.

during the war years not eliminated a number. Due to the scarcity of scripts a number of plays were written in Shanghai. Among these were two by Hans Schubert and Mark Siegelberg, *Die Masken fallen* (The Masks Fall; Document 161) and *Fremde Erde* (Foreign Soil). For different reasons, both caused considerable controversy at the time, the first because it dealt with the topic of Nazi persecution based on the experiences of the authors. Its performance led Michel Speelman to pen a letter to the *North-China Daily News* arguing that provocative topics in Shanghai must be avoided at this point.[7] The second play was entirely different and took up a most controversial topic of refugee existence: the intimate relationship between a German refugee woman and a Chinese man. Whereas *Die Masken fallen* was once more performed in 1946, after the end of war, *Fremde Erde* was not again staged in Shanghai.[8]

The presence of actors, writers, and an audience were, of course, important; nonetheless, the development of a thriving entertainment culture might have been hard, if not impossible, without some sort of organizational framework. The first organization was the Artist Club, which included musicians, performing artists, and others and had already at the beginning of 1940 transformed into the European Jewish Artist Society (EJAS; Document 154). EJAS had numerous performances on the Sapiro Stage, under the direction of Boris Sapiro, who most of the time also acted, and the Ensemble, under the direction of Fritz Melchior.

For those who could not afford the price of a ticket there was the cheaper entertainment in one of the cafes, where for the price of something to drink a person could also enjoy a written and/or improvised radio performance. These were entertaining and often humorous (Document 145).

During the war years from 1943 to August 1945, when the stateless refugees were forced to relocate in the Designated Area, cultural activities were circumscribed, but did not cease altogether. Information is scarce about that period and many performances were rejected by the Japanese censor. Still, there was light opera, the ARTA art exhibitions (Document 137), and another exhibition of fourteen Jewish painters.[9]

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7 Philipp/Seywald, Hans Schubert, 15.

8 Ibid., 29. Although it is unlikely that the refugees would have frequented Chinese entertainment establishments, it is obvious from the content of *Foreign Soil* that the two authors had some acquaintance with these places and their functions.

9 Held in the Shanghai Jewish Club from May 5–8, 1943, it was advertised as the "First in Shanghai." The painters exhibited were Ludwig Bloch, Michail Brenner, Joseph (Yoni) Fein, Paul Fisher, Fred Freden [sic] Goldberg, Ernst Handel, Max Heyman, Hans Jacobi, E. Mossowich, Z. Okun-Genkin, Helene Rootstein, Rachel, A. Taub, and

Apart from theater staged by German and Austrian refugees, there existed also Yiddish theater, which was largely the creation of the Polish contingent who arrived from Japan in 1941. Aside from many members of rabbinic schools, it included poets, writers, and actors as well as the talented actress Rose Shoshana Kahan (Documents 88 and 164).

The Polish refugees, whose flight from the Germans had taken them first to Lithuania, then to Japan until they were shipped to Shanghai,[10] had probably even fewer scripts of plays than those who had arrived from Germany and Austria. They therefore began writing texts as well. Some were written from memory while others were generally not complete plays but brief sketches, as, for example, *Di fraylekhe bombe* (The Happy Bomb; Document 147).[11] It is certainly regrettable that none of these texts have apparently survived the ravages of dislocation and time.

Despite having to cope with similar problems as the German language theater – lack of a proper stage, funds for costumes and stage property – a fairly large number of Yiddish performances took place. Among the fifteen or so mentioned in Rose Shoshana Kahan's diary were plays by the well known playwrights Jacob Gordin and Sholem Aleichem.[12]

The largest number of Yiddish performances took place in 1942 (Documents 144, 146, 147, 150, 151). After most refugees were forced to relocate to Hongkou, Yiddish theater ceased for all practical purposes, and there were apparently no performances between May 1943 and November 1944. However, performances resumed in the postwar period, and an evening for American Jewish soldiers, during which also Raja Zomina sang Yiddish songs, was especially successful.[13]

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that painters too did not cease altogether to paint. Although they had to struggle with limitations of funds for paints, paper, and brushes, they carried on. Thus the work of artists like

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Mrs. R. Zirulsky-Yanovich; the catalogue is available at <https://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/flight-rescue/zoom_player.php?id=2677> (September 26, 2016).

10 For a brief description of their travels, see the introduction to chapter 3.

11 Chang, Jüdische Kultur, XLIV.

12 Gordin (1853–1909) had already emigrated from his native Russia to the United States in 1891, where he wrote more than seventy plays. Among his famous dramas is *Mirele Efros*, which was made into a Yiddish movie in 1939. The Yiddish poet Sholem Aleichem, the pen name for Shalom Rabinovich or Solomon Naumovich Rabinovich (1859–1916), is best known for his *Tevye the Milkman*, which has been translated into many languages and adapted as the famous musical *Fiddler on the Roof*.

13 Kahan, In fayer, 361, entry November 7, 1945.

Joni Fein (Document 152) and others could be seen by the wider Shanghai Jewish community.

We cannot but admire the impressive accomplishments of Shanghai's refugee theater in German and Yiddish. Despite hardship and dislocation, actors continued to act, playwrights continued to write, and painters continued to paint. It is hard to imagine the spiritual strength it must have take to carry on. We today, above all, must remember that during this painful period in Jewish life entertainment of many kinds continued to exist in refugee life.

Document 142

Alfred Dreifuss[14]
August 16, 1940
Newspaper article, in: Aufbau, vol. 33, 7.
Microfilm; NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

Theater in Shanghai
Oedipus, Der Lachende Ehemann, Flachsmann als Erzieher
und Sturm im Wasserglas[15]

Ich will Ihnen in kurzen Zügen berichten, wie wir hier im fernsten Asien einen europäischen Theaterbetrieb aufbauten. Sie müssen beim Lesen dieser Zeilen alle Vorstellungen, die Sie mit dem Begriff „Theater" verbinden, zurückstellen, Sie dürfen auch nicht daran denken, wie man in New York Theater spielt. Hier in Shanghai, dieser „kulturlosesten Stadt der Welt", ist das

14 About Dreifuss, see ch. 4, n. 53.

15 For *Oedipus*, see ch. 4, n. 74. *Der Lachende Ehemann* (1913) is an operetta by the successful Jewish composer Edmund Eysler (1874–1949), who survived the Holocaust by hiding in Austria. *Flachsmann als Erzieher* (1908) is a comedy by Otto Ernst (1862–1926), a well known writer and playwright from Hamburg. In 1930 the play was made into a movie. The comedy *Sturm im Wasserglas* (1930) was written by Bruno Frank (1887–1945), a renowned playwright and novelist of the interwar period from Munich who emigrated to Switzerland in 1933, then to England, and eventually to the United States. The play was successfully staged in London (*Storm in a Teacup*) and on Broadway (*Storm over Patsy*), and in 1937 it was made into a Hollywood movie of the same title as the London production.

alles ganz anders. Und was Ihnen hier berichtet wird, klingt manchmal – für uns hier ist es wenigstens so – wie ein Märchen.

Zunächst: ein Kulturleben, wie es auch die bescheidenste europäische Provinzstadt besitzt, gibt es hier nicht. Die Franzosen beschränken sich auf ihren Klub, die Amerikaner erst recht. Die Engländer besitzen zwar ein hübsches kleines Bühnenhaus – das einzige Theatergebäude in dieser 4 Millionenstadt – wo den Winter über recht nette Amateurveranstaltungen gestartet werden. Diese sind jedoch mehr gesellschaftlicher als künstlerischer Natur. In demselben Bühnenhaus spielt weiterhin ein russisches Opernensemble (Format: Charbin) abgegriffene Opernreisser. Der einzige Lichtpunkt ist das unter der Leitung des Italieners Pasci[16] [sic] stehende Munizipalorchester [sic], eine Vereinigung von ca. 50 Musikern, die ziemlich gute Musik bietet. In diesem Orchester sitzen heute auch ungefähr 10 Emigrantenmusiker, u.a. der vorzügliche Cellist Eugen Winkler. Zählen wir nun die chinesischen Theater noch hinzu, so ist das, was man „Kultur" nennt, hierorts restlos erschöpft.

In diese Situation hinein gerieten wir. Und es ist nun ungefähr ein Jahr her, dass wir den Beginn machten, hier so etwas wie ein Theaterleben zu organisieren. Wir hatten kein Geld, wir hatten keine Stücke, wir hatten kein Haus (das oben erwähnte Theater steht uns nicht zur Verfügung), kurz und schlecht, „im Anfang war das Nichts". Dieses Nichts bildete eines Tages eine Organisation, ungefähr 50 Menschen, vom Zauberkünstler zum Heldentenor vereinigten sich im „Artist Club".

Angefangen mit bunten Abenden wurde zuerst in den Emigrantenheimen die, da sie meist in leeren Schulgebäuden sind, über kleine Bühnen verfügen. Dann startete in der Glühhitze des Shanghaier Sommers, mitten im August des Vorjahres, unsere erste öffentliche Veranstaltung. Unter dem Titel „Wir vom Theater" rollte ein Programm ab, das zur Sensation in dieser Stadt wurde. Man stand buchstäblich Kopf über die Fülle an künstlerischem Material, das der Emigrantenstrom hier angeschwemmt hatte. Der Erfolg dieser Sache ermunterte uns nun, die erste richtige Theatervorstellung zu organisieren. Auf einer Miniaturbühne in einem Kino in Hongkew – das ist der von den Japanern besetzte Stadtteil Shanghais, in dem ca. 12 000 Emigranten wohnen, gingen nun recht und schlecht einige kleine Einakter, die irgend einer unserer Mimen im Koffer hatte, in Szene. An den Ausbau eines Repertoire war infolge völligen Fehlens jeglicher deutschsprachiger dramatischer Literatur zunächst überhaupt nicht zu denken. Bis dann wiederum einige Stück [sic] eintrafen, brach der Krieg aus und unser Traum, Theater spielen zu können, war sehr ausgeträumt. Bis wir dann im November von einigen Kunstfreunden etwas Geld bekamen und wiederum von vorn anfingen. „Von

16 This was Mario Paci.

vorn anzufangen“ ist hier überhaupt grosse Mode. Wir zogen dann in ein anderes Kino und brachten dort einige Vorstellungen zustande, die schon so etwas wie das von drüben her gewohnte Gesicht zeigten. „Oedipus“ in der Hofmannsthal-Uebersetzung, „Spiel im Schloss“, „Lachende Ehemann“ (unsere erste Operette), „Flachsmann als Erzieher“.

Wir begannen nun, Fuss zu fassen, die künstlerischen Erfolge traten ein, finanziell dagegen ging es uns bitter schlecht. Kaum war die Miete zu bezahlen, wir probierten wochenweise bei strengster Kälte im ungeheizten Kino – na, es war eine böse Zeit. Aber wir mussten und haben durchgehalten. Bis wir eben eines Tages am Ende unserer Mittel waren. Wiederum geschah ein Wunder. Ein paar Mäzene stellten sich ein, bezahlten unsere Schulden, der „Artist Club“ wurde umorganisiert und trägt nun seit Januar den Namen „European Jewish Artist Society“. Es gelang uns nun, mit Hilfe besagter Mäzene ein kleines Ensemble zu Festgagen anzustellen, die, wenn auch sehr gering, doch den meisten wenigstens die Möglichkeit bot, ihr bescheidenes Hongkew-Zimmer zu mieten. Unser Essen beziehen wir nahezu alle noch aus den Heimen. Augenblicklich ist diese Festbezahlung der Kriegslage wegen wiederum gefährdet. Wir sind nun damit beschäftigt, nach Berliner Vorbild eine Besucherorganisation zu schaffen, die bis zum Herbst stehen soll. Es ist so, dass wir nun derart im Leben der Emigranten verwurzelt sind, dass an ein Aufhören unserer Vereinigung nicht mehr zu denken ist. Unsere letzte Vorstellung „Sturm im Wasserglas“ war dank einer wirklich ausgezeichnet Besetzung ein Riesenerfolg. In den Haupttrollen spielten Jenny Rausnitz, Fritz Heller, Harry Walden, Eva Schwarz und Marion Lissner. Betrüblich ist nur immer der Umstand, dass wir ein Stück höchstens zweimal spielen können, dann ist der finanziell sowieso nicht sehr gesettelte Besucherkreis erschöpft.
Dr. Alfred Dreifuss.

Document 143

David Rabinovitch[17]
November 21, 1941
Newspaper article, in: Nasha zhizn, no. 29, 7 f., 10.[18]
Russian; translation by Yuri Pines
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Шанхайский Еврейский Клуб

Согласно данным, приведенным в альманахе, опубликованном в 1934 г. культурно-просветительной комиссией клуба, первое заседание инициативной группы по созданию клуба состаялось 24-го января 1932 г., а 7-го августа того же года состаялось открытие клуба в доме No. 1321 Рю Лафает. Таким образом, в следующем году клуб будет праздновать свое десятилетие – на этот раз в своем собственном здании. В истории шанхайской еврейской ашкеназийской колонии 10 лет – большой период времени. Эмиграция русского еврейства в Шанхай началась в 1921/2 годах и, таким образом, почти половина периода существования здесь русско-еврейской колонии прошла под знаком деятельности еврейского клуба.

Этот десятилетний период существования клуба настолько изменил лицо еврейской общественной жизни города, что теперь уже трудно полностью оценить его роль и значение. Еврейский клуб так слился с местной еврейской жизнью, пустил такие глубокие корни, вобрал так много общественных начинаний, породил так много здоровых обще-

17 About Rabinovitch, see ch. 4, n. 13.

18 Five photos are inserted into the article. On p. 7: (left) "Chairman of the 'Shanghai Jewish Club,' G. Klebanov;" (center): "Committee of Elders of the 'Shanghai Jewish Club': Sitting from the left to the right: I. Gershevich; A. Oppenheim, G. Klebanov, S. Khesin, S. Feinland. Standing: L. Feingold, G. Schifrin, S. Shchedrovich, S. Liberman, J. Robinson, D. Rabinovitch. Not present: J. Bitker, Y. Brick, S. Weiner;" (right): "First Chairman of the 'Shanghai Jewish Club,' M. S. Bloch." On p. 8: (center): "At the banquet in honor of M. Speelman on the occasion of the acquisition of the Club building;" (bottom): "Members of the first and the second Club Committee. Standing from the left to the right: S. Khesin, S. Shchedrovich, L. Brajdovskij, S. Vitenson, J. Sheinin, V. Gonshtak, Y. Brick, D. Rabinovitch, M. Sherman, S. Bossak, Y. Zalmanov, R. Bitker. Sitting: B. Podolskij, A. Fishbein, G. Kraslavskij, J. Bitker, M. Bloch, I. Levitin, M. Kantsler, I. Kagan and G. Klebanov."

ственных тенденций, что необходимо усилие, чтобы востановить картину местной |8| еврейской жизни до-клубного периода. Помнится ясно одно: установившаяся за Шанхаем, с легкой руки иностранных корреспондентов, репутация города без души полностью оправдывалась и в отношении местной еврейской колонии. Люди жили, страдали, строили жизнь, каждый независимо от другого, не вступая в контакт, не освещая свой тяжелый жизненный путь никакими общественными задачами. Была здесь какая-то группа лиц, называвшая себя общинным советом, та же группа вечно хлопотала по поводу убогой, ютившейся в частном доме синагоги, была какая-то благотворительная организация, снисходительно покровительствовавшая нашим беднякам, было, конечно, и погребальное братство. Все эти люди, извалившие на себя «общественную» работу, всегда о чем то суетились, о чем то хлопотали, вечно прислушиваясь к тому, что им скажут богаты благотворители из местной сефардийской общины, и эта их деятельность – нелегкая в атмосфере безразличия и духовной упадочности – никак не могла выбиться из сферы небольших мелких личных интриг и местничества.

Можем ли мы приписать евр. клубу то изменение облика местной евр. жизни, которое произошло здесь за последнее десятилетие? Можно ли приписать ему в заслугу тот факт, что местная еврейская общественная жизнь так широко развернулась, что наша евр. колония обрела за последние годы чувство собственного достоинства, обрела себе душу? Принимая во внимание, что за последние годы численность местной евр. колонии значительно возросла, что экономическое ее положение значительно окрепло, на первый взгляд может показаться, что рост общественной нашей активности является естественным результатом роста нашей колонии. Но ведь, численный рост населения не всегда связан с качественным ростом его и если нет какого либо об'единяющего института, оно остается разрозненным и неспаянным.

Блестящей иллюстрацией этому утверждению являет собой Тяньцзин. Тяньцзин переживал десяток лет тому назад период блогополучия, его еврейская колония всегда была велика, но жизнь оставалась глубоко провинциальной до того момента, когда всю еврейскую колонию не об'единил и всколыхнул «Кунст». Печатаемые в настоящем номере сведения об этом клубе воочию выявляют все огромное значение этого прекрасного утверждения и, если мы вспомним все то, что за все эти годы дал и наш клуб – устные газеты, литературные вечера, доклады – если мы вспомним, что все евр. общественные учреждения нашего города нашли приют в этом клубе, что почти все общественные начинания последнего десятилетия также исходили оттуда же и если, наконец, мы учтем колоссальную общественную нагрузку многих членов его

комитета, мы поймем, что развитие евр. общественной деятельности Шанхая не явилось естественным результатом роста нашей колонии, а результатом активности Шанхайского Еврейского Клуба.

Но самым крупным достижением Шанх. Евр. Клуба является приобретение им прекрасного здания в центре нашего города – этим клуб сослужил не подпающуюся учету заслуги перед местным еврейством. Сейчас еще трудно учесть все значение этого фактора и сами члены комитета клуба, и все рядовые члены его не достаточно еще прониклись сознанием важности сделанного шага и только постепенно, с каждым днем, каждым месяцем, каждым годом, выявится та роль, которую сыграет этот факт в жизни нашего города. Приобретением прекрасного собственного здания клуб предоставил местной евр. колонии широкие возможности для взаимного общения, удовлетворения наших культурных и духовных потребностей; этому зданию суждено сильнее об'единить и сплотить нас, укрепить и усилить наши национальные устремления, оторвать нашу молодежь от ассимилирующей и развращающей обстановки большого восточного портового города и недаром мы все испытывали какое-то безсознательное чувство гордости в день открытия здания клуба, недаром вес еврейский Шанхай совершал в первые дни свое паломничество в стены нового клуба.

Нужно учесть, однако, одно существенное обстоятельство: над клубом висит большая задолженность и есть опасность того, что соображения экономии будут, особенно в первые годы, отрывать стремление большинства к разширению творческой, культурной активности клуба. Против этого нужно бороться, ибо такая политика может нанести клубу непоправимый вред. Для покрытия расходов |10| и задолженности должы и могут быть изысканны пути, не идущие в разрез с культурно-просветительными заданиями Клуба. Клуб должен продолжать поощрять всякие евр. общественные начинания, всякую евр. культурную активность. Только развитием этой стороны своей деятельности клуб сможет укрепить собя [!], вовлечь все [!] большую массу членов, получить более крепкую опору. Ибо клуб – это прежде всего общественная организация и, как таковая, должен опираться на широкие массы.

Принятно отметить, что Культурно-Просветительная [!] комиссия клуба сумела взять с момента перехода кдуба [!] в собственное здание правильный курс. Все начинания этей комиссии – лекции, доклады, концерты – прошли под знаком исключителного успеха. Клуб сумел использовать наличные здесь силы и, несомненно, что постепенно откроются новые и лучшие возможности. Надо держаться этой линии, не ухудшать качества культурно-просветительной деятельности, не сбиваться с нее на дорогу дешевого внешнего успеха и тогда никакие

затруднения не будут страшны для нашего клуба. Мы верим в то, что клуб станет действительным очагом и центром еврейской культуры, не сомневаемся в его дальнейшем успехе и выпуском настоящего номера, посвященного клубу, хотим подчеркнуть все то огромное значение, которые сыграл и еще сыграет еврейский клуб в жизни нашей общины.

Translation

The Jewish Club in Shanghai

According to data from the anthology published in 1934 by the cultural and educational commission, the first meeting of the initiative group for the creation of the Club took place on January 24th, 1932, and on August 7th of the same year the Club opened its house at no. 1321 on Rue Lafayette. Thus, next year the Club will celebrate its 10th anniversary, this time on its own premises. Ten years is a long period of time for the history of the Jewish Ashkenazi community in Shanghai. Emigration of Russian Jews to Shanghai started in 1921/22, and thus almost half of the existence of the Russian Jewish colony here passed under the badge of the Jewish Club activity.

This 10-year period has so changed the features of Jewish social life in the city that it is difficult now to fully appraise its role and importance. The Jewish Club has become inseparable from Jewish life. It has deep roots, absorbed so many undertakings, and gave to many healthy social tendencies that one has to make an effort to reconstitute the picture |8| of Jewish life in the pre-Club period. One can easily remember one thing: the reputation of a town without a soul disseminated by foreign reporters fully applied to the local Jewish colony. People were living their lives and suffering independently of each other, without coming into contact with each other, without lightening their difficult path through any social tasks. There was a group of people who called themselves a community council, which took care of a wretched synagogue located in a private house, there was a charitable organization condescendingly assisting the poor, and of course there was a burial society.[19]

19 According to Lewin, Almanac, 53, communal activities among Russian Jews in Shanghai began in 1902 with the formation of a synagogue committee, called Ohel Moishe, which ran a prayer room at various places in Shanghai. It also organized charitable work through the Shanghai Hebrew Relief Society and the Shelter House (founded in 1917), religious study, a special fund for the sick, and a burial society (founded in 1922). From 1926 on, the community employed a rabbi (Meir Ashkenazi). In addition to the newly built Synagogue Ohel Moishe in 1927, which housed a Mikveh and a

All these people who took upon themselves this "social" work were always bustling about, pleading for someone, and were always lending their ear to the words of the rich people from the local Sephardic community, and their hard work in an atmosphere of indifference and spiritual decadence could never rise above the level of petty intrigues and provincialism.

Can we credit the Jewish Club for the change in the character of local Jewish life which took place here over the past ten years? Can we credit the Club with the fact that Jewish social life here has developed significantly, and that the Jewish colony has acquired the sense of dignity and soul? Taking into account a considerable increase in the population of the Jewish colony, the strengthening of its economic situation, one can assume at first sight that the increase in the social activity was a natural consequence of the growth of the colony. However, a quantitative increase is not always accompanied by qualitative growth, and in the absence of a uniting body the community can remain uncoordinated and not united.

Tianjin[20] can serve as an example of this assertion. Ten years ago this city prospered. The Jewish colony was always large, but life remained very provincial till the moment when the whole Jewish colony was united and woken up by "Kunst." Information about this club published in the present issue shows the great importance of this wonderful institution. If we remember all the good things that our club contributed over these years – oral newspapers, literary parties, reports – that all Jewish social organizations found refuge in this club, that almost all Jewish undertakings in this period had their origin here, and if, finally, we take into account a tremendous pressure of community work that fell on many members of its committee, we will understand that the development of Jewish community activity was not a natural result of the growth of our colony, but the result of the activity of the Shanghai Jewish Club.

Talmud Torah School, the community opened a second Synagogue on Seymour Road in 1934.

20 Tianjin was the second largest port city and commercial center in China in the nineteenth century. Like Shanghai, the city had several international concessions. Jewish immigrants settled in Tianjin from the last third of the eighteenth century on. A Jewish community was founded in 1904; it grew considerably due to immigration following the Russian Revolution (1917) and the Japanese occupation of Manchuria (1931), when Jews from Harbin started to pour into Tianjin. In the middle of the 1930s there were about 2500 Jews in Tianjin; cf. Melvin Ember/Carol R. Ember/Ian Skoggard (eds.), Encyclopedia of Diasporas. Immigrant and Refugee Cultures around the World, vol. 1, New York 2005, 160.

However, the most important achievement of the Shanghai Jewish Club is the acquisition of an excellent building in the center of our town – this is an immeasurable contribution to the local Jews. It is still difficult to evaluate the importance of this factor. The members of the Club Committee and ordinary members of the Club still have not fully realized the importance of this step in the life of our city. The acquisition of an excellent building for the local Jewish colony offered numerous opportunities for mutual communication and for satisfying our cultural and spiritual needs. This building is destined to further unite us, to strengthen our national aspirations, and to divert our young from the assimilationist and depraving atmosphere of a large Eastern port city. Not in vain did we have a feeling of pride on the day of the inauguration of the club's building.

We should, however, consider the following: the Club has a large debt, and it may be dangerous to interfere with the expansion of the cultural and creative activity wished by the majority of the members, especially in the first years. We have to find ways |10| to pay the debts, which do not interfere with the cultural and enlightening tasks of the Club. The Club should continue to encourage all Jewish public undertakings and Jewish cultural activity. Only the development of this side of its activity will allow the Club to strengthen itself, to attract new members, and to get a stronger foothold. As the Club is first of all a public organization, it should be supported by the larger Jewish public.

We are pleased to note that the cultural and enlightening commission of the Club has succeeded in taking the right course after moving to its own building. All undertakings of the commission – lectures, reports, concerts – have been tremendously successful. The Club has managed to take advantage of the existing resources, and it is clear that new and better possibilities will open in future. One should stick to this line, not to decrease the quality of cultural and enlightening activity, not to take a road of cheap external success, and then our Club will not fear hardships. We believe that our Club will become a real home and center of Jewish culture. We do not doubt its imminent success, and by publishing this issue devoted to the Club we wish to underline the great role already played and to be played in future by the Jewish Club in the life of our community.

Document 144

Menakhem Flakser[21]
November 28, 1941
Newspaper article, in: Unzer lebn, no. 30, 1.
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די "דיבוק" אויפפירונג אין "לייסעאום"־טעאטער

עס איז א גרויסער שאד, וואס דער שאנכייער יידישער עולם האט אין אזא קליינער מאס זיך פאראינטערעסירט מיט דער אויפפירונג פון ש. אנסקי׳ס "דיבוק" דורך דער טרופע פון בארים שאפירא אין לייסעאום־טעאטער דעם פארגאנגענעם מיטוואך. דער "דיבוק" איז געשפילט געווארן אין דער גאנצער וועלט, דורך די געניאלסטע יידישע און נישט־יידישע שוישפילער. און אוודאי קאן מען נישט פארלאנגען, אז א צופעליקער אנסאמבל פון עט־לעכע געווען דייטשע און געווען יידיש-פוילישע ארטיסטן זאל דא אין אזא פאר־שליידערטן עק וועלט, ווי עס איז שאנכיי, געבן עטוואס פולקאמענס אדער עפעס אזוינס, וואס זאל איבערראשן. און דאך זאגן מיר, איז א שאד, וואס ווייט נישט אלע שאנכייער יידן האבן די דאזיקע פארשטעלונג געזען, ווייל עס איז א גרייסער פארדינסט פון דעם רעזשיסער און ארטיסט, בארים שאפירא, וואס ער האט אונז דערמאנט אן דער אלטער פרעכטיקער יידישער לעגענדע פון ש. אנ־סקי און וואס ער האט צו אונז צוגעטראגן אין א מער־ווייניקער לייטישן לבוש.

די פארשטעלונג איז געווען דורכאויס א פאזיטיווע דערשיינונג אין אונזער ארעמען קולטורעלן לעבן דא אין שטאט, און זי האט פארדינט א בעסערע באציאונג צו זיך מצד אונ־זערע "פני". באזונדער האט ארויסגעשיינט די ארטיסטין ראיא זאמין אין דער ראל פון לאה, איר קלארע דיקציע און טיפע איבערלעבונג האט געווירקט אפפרישנדיק צום געגנזאץ פון מאנכע דייטשע ארטיסטן, וועמענס כמו יידיש האט זיך געלייגט ווי בליי אויפן צושויער. דער רוטינירטער טעאטער־מענש פון פוילן, ה׳ זיגער, וועלכער האט געשפילט די ראל פון סענדער, האט זיכער אריינגעטראגן אין דער פארשטעלונג זיין גרויסע טעאטער־דערפארונג פון דער אלטער היים. מיר מוזן אויסטיילן פון צווישן די אויספירער דעם ה׳ פרידמאן, וועלכער האט מיט א סך קולטור אויסגעפירט די שווערע ראל פון משולח. און אויך פרוי רוישניץ אין דער ראל פון דער באבען, אין ערשטן אקט. צווישן די בטלנים אין בית־המדרש, האט זיך באזונדער אויסגעצייכנט ה׳ מ. עלבוים. דער רעזשיסער ה׳ בארים שאפירא, האט אויסגעפירט צוויי ראלן מיטאמאל: ער האט געשפילט חנ׳ען און דעם מיראפאלער צדיק. מיר, וואס האבן געזען אין די דאזיקע ראלן אברהם מארעווסקי׳ן און טשעמערינסקין פון "הבימה", דעם טעמפעראמענט און ברען, וואס זיי האבן אין די ראלן אריינגעלייגט, מוזן האבן געוויסע באווארענישן געגן דער טרוקענקייט פון ה׳ שאפיראס אינטערפרעטאציע. אבער ביי אלע באווארענישן – איז כדאי געווען די אויפפירונג! און עס קומט א דאנק

21 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

ה׳ באריס שאפירא, וואס ער האט נישט געקארגט קיין מי און קיין מיטלען, ביי די אומפ־
ריינטלעכסטע באדינגונגען, די אויפפירונג צושטאנד צו ברענגען.
מ. פ.

Translation

The "Dybbuk" Performance in the "Lyceum"-Theater

It is a great pity that Shanghai's Jewish world was so little interested in the performance of Sh. Anski's[22] "Dybbuk" staged last Wednesday by Boris Sapiro's cast in the Lyceum-Theater. The "Dybbuk" has been performed worldwide by the most brilliant Jewish and non-Jewish actors. Of course, one cannot expect that an occasional ensemble of several former German and Jewish-Polish actors will give a perfect performance or anything surprising like that here in this forsaken corner of the world that is Shanghai. Despite that, we say, a pity that not every Shanghai Jew saw this performance, because it was a great accomplishment by the director and actor, Boris Sapiro, who reminded us of the old and magnificent legend of Sh. Anski and who presented it aptly.

The performance was in every way a positive event in our culturally impoverished life in this city, and it deserved a better reception from our "élite." The actress Raya Zomina was especially outstanding in the role of Leah. Her clear diction and extensive experience were refreshing in contrast to several of the German actors, whose quasi-Yiddish fell like lead on the audience. The experienced Polish thespian Mr. Siger, who played the role of Sender, certainly brought to the performance his extensive theatrical experience from the old homeland. Among the performers we must highlight Mr. Friedmann, who endowed the difficult role of Meshulah the Messenger with much culture, and Mrs. Rausnitz as the nurse in the first act. Among the

22 Anski (1863–1920) was a major Yiddish writer and playwright. In his drama *Der Dibuk* (1914) he transformed the popular Hasidic legend into an expressionist play, symbolizing the divided existence of European Jewry *tsvishn tsvey veltn* ("between two worlds" – the original title of the play), i.e. between shtetl culture with its sacred traditions and urban, bourgeois culture and its secular life style. *Der Dibuk* became a great success and was translated into Hebrew and several European languages only a few years after it appeared.

idlers in the study hall, Mr. M. Elbaum[23] particularly excelled. The director Mr. Boris Sapiro performed in two roles at the same time: He acted as Hanan and the Mirapoler Tsaddik. However, we have seen Abraham Morewski and Tschemerinski of the "Habima" in these roles and how they acted with temperament and verve;[24] therefore, we must express some reservations regarding the dryness of Mr. Boris Sapiro's interpretation.

But of all reservations – the performance was very worthwhile! We thank Boris Sapiro, who spared neither effort nor cost to bring about this performance under the most unfavorable of conditions.
M. F.

Document 145

Horst Levin[25]
No date
Radio broadcast (typewritten transcript), 2 pages.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/42; courtesy Howard Levin

PALAESTINA.

Zernik – Friedmann – Gottschalk

Friedm.: Ich sag Dir Schmul, was ich heut wider gehoert hab, das ist nicht zu glauben …

Zernik: Nu was wird das schon sein? Eppes,[26] das man bei dieser Chamime[27] mit unserer Armee Manoever macht? Du, ich bin ueb-

23 Max (Moshe) Elbaum (1902–1969) was a journalist and Yiddish writer as well as a performer. In 1948 he settled in New York where he worked for the *Jewish Morning Journal* and the *Forward* and became secretary of the Yiddish writers union.

24 Habima was the first professional Hebrew theater founded in 1918 in Moscow; the Hebrew version of *Der Dibuk* was one of its most important productions. Abraham Morewski (Avrom Morevsky; 1886–1964) played the role of the Tsaddik, both with the *Vilner Trupe* in Yiddish and in the film *The Dybbuk* (1937); cf. Nahma Sandrow, Vagabond Stars. A World History of Yiddish Theater, New York 1977, 312. Baruch Tshemerinski (Tchemerinsky; 1892–1946) was a member of Habima from 1920 on.

25 About Levin, see ch. 2, n. 6.

26 A Yiddish term of many meanings that may be translated here as "something."

27 Yiddish, "heat."

rigens auch schon befoerdert worden … Jawohl … zum … Und unsere Offiziere, die Kommandos … alles erste Klasse … Kommandos … Rumgesprochen.

Gottsch. (kommt) Nu das is doch die Hoehe, das muss anders werden, der Kerl muss abgesetzt werden, das setz' ich beim Comité durch … das geht so nicht so weiter …

Zern. – Fr. Nu? Was is? Red schon.

Gottschalk Dieser Kerl, der Leimach,[28] hat wieder eine halbe Stunde zu spaet Schabbesanfang geblasen, so dass wir natuerlich zu spaet mit unserm Skat aufgehoert haben. Wir mussten mitten im Spiel aufhoeren, und ich hatte gerade einen Grand mit vieren in der Hand, na ich war ziemlich im Minus. Nu aber weil Schabbes war, haben wir nicht abgerechnet und ich brauchte nicht zu bezahlen, nu und weil ich a frommer Mann bin, hab ich meine Zeche nicht bezahlt und bis nach Schabbes, nu da spielen wir weiter und mer wird schon sehen …

Zernik Heisst a Freud was Deine Leut mit Dir haben … A Chamime … man transpiriert ordentlich beim Schwitzeen [sic]. Na was sagt Ihr zu der neuen Waehrung?

Fr. Zu was?

Zern. Nu ja wir bekommen a neue Waehrung …

Gottsch. Nu sag mal, was macht Dein Sohn … er is doch in China.

Friedmann Ja der is in Shanghai, hier hab ich gerade einen Brief von ihm. Dem gehts grossartig.

Gottschalk Nu was macht er? Is er beim Comité?

Friedmann Nein, aber mein Sohn ist der groesste lebende Schauspieler SShanghais [sic]. Er tritt dort im juedischen Staats- und Volkstheater auf, heisst abgekuerzt Ejas.

Gottsch. E was?

[|2|]

Friedmann Ejas. Das muss irgendwas chinesisches sein und heisst wahrscheinlich soviel wie E juedische Assesponim[29] Schauspielergesellschaft. Nu er schreibt seitdem er dabei is, ~~brauch er~~ kann er nich mehr zu Fuss laufen …

Zernick [sic] Wohl weil er nicht sein Face[30] verlieren will?

Friedmann Nein, weil er die letzten Sohlen durchgelaufen h[at.][31]

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28 Yiddish, "misfit" or "crackpot."

29 Yiddish, "impertinent."

30 The English "face" serves as a pun for the similar sounding "Fuss."

31 Missing letters here and in the next line of the original document have been inserted.

Zernick Sag mal, was fuer[32] Sprache reden die da? Chinesisc[h?]
Friedm. Nein, alle Chinesen muessen dort jiddisch lernen, nu und manche reden auch englisch.
Zernick Englisch is gut. Ich red fliessend Englisch.
Weiter improvisieren …

Document 146

Menakhem Flakser[33]
January 30, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Unzer lebn, no. 39, 1.
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

א יידישער טעאטער־אוונט אין שאנכיי

דער ״אוונט פאר יידישן הומאר״ איינגעארדנט דורך דער ארטיסטין שושנה אין יידישן קלוב, איז אדורך מיט אן אומגעהויערן דערפאלג. דער נייער זאל מיט דער פריש־אויפגעבויטער סצענע, וואס נעמט אריין ביי 300 מענטשן, איז געווען איבערפולט. א סברה, אז שאנכייער יידן, הגם זיי רעדן נישט אין טאג־טעגלעכן לעבן קיין יידיש, דאך זענען זיי נאך טיף פארבונדן מיטן יידישן טעאטער, מיט זיינע טראדיציעס פון אריינטראגן הייטערקייט אין גרויען יידישן לעבן. די יידישע ארטיסטן, וואס געפינען זיך היינט צו־טאג אין שאנכיי, דארפן דעריבער זען אויפהאלטן דעם דאזיקן נישט־אויסגעלאשענעם אינטערעס צו יידיש טעאטער, זיי דארפן געבן דעם אויסגעהונגערטן עולם נישט קיין פיצלעך און ברעקלעך, אויפגעקליבן נישט שטענדיק פון די ערשטע און סאמע פאסיקסטע קוועלן, נאר טאקע עכטן פאלקסטימלעכן יידישן טעאטער, ווי מיר קענען אים פון דער אלטער היים.

דער עולם האט מיט גרויס צופרידנקייט אויפגענומען די מיטטיילונג, וואס פרוי שושנה האט געמאכט פון דער בינע, אז די קומענדיקע אויפפירונג, וואס ווערט צוגעגרייט, איז ״מירעלע אפרת״ פון יעקב גארדין.

וועגן דעם ״אוונט פון יידישן הומאר״ לאזט זיך זאגן איינס: דער עולם האט געשמאק געלאכט. און עס איז א גרויסע זאך, ווען מען קען אין די היינטיקע ביטערע צייטן ארויסרופן ביי מענטשן נישט נאר א שמייכל, נאר טאקע אן אויפריכטיקן געלעכטער. מיט קיין גרויסער קונסט האט דאס פראגראם פון אוונט נישט געזינדיקט. אפילו דער שלום־עליכמישער איינאקטער ״אין צווייען א זעקס־און־זעכציק״ האט נישט ארויסגעבראנגט נישט שלום־עליכם׳ס פּקח׳דיקע געשמאקע שפּראך, נישט זיין קוואלנדיקן הומאר, נאר עפּעס

32 Word missing, “eine.”
33 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

צוויידייטיקע אנווינקונגען, ווי מיר קענען זיי פון די פראנצויזישע שלעכטע פארסן. דער איינאקטער איז אבסאלוט נישט כאראקטעריסטיש פאר שלום־עליכם׳ען און אין א געוויסער מאס פארשוועכט ער דעם אנדענק, וואס לעבט אין יעדן פון אונז וועגן דעם גרעסטן יידישן מייסטער.

נישט שלעכט וואלט געווען דער אקטועלער מאנאלאג פון א. סוויסלאצקי, אויסגע־פירט פון פרוי שושנה "מיר איז וואויל, איך בין א בעזשענקע"... דער אומגעלונגענער סוף האט אבער אפגעהרגעט דעם עפעקט, וואס עס האט געמאכט דער אנהויב פון מאנאלאג.

די טרערן־דעקלאמאציע פון מאריס ראזענפעלד׳ס "אויפן בוזם פון ים" און ש. פרוג׳ס "דער כוס" אויסגעפירט פון פרוי שושנה, האט זיך נישט אריינגעפאסט און דעם אלגע־מיינעם כאראקטער פון אוונט.

די צוויי סקעטשן "גארסאניערקע" פון מ. בראדערזון און "ער זי און דער דריטער" פון אן אומבאקאנטען מחבר ביידע ענלעך צו זיך לויט דער טעמע, האבן ארויסגערופן ביים עולם א סך געלעכטער. א חוץ פרוי שושנה האבן זיך אין זיי באטייליקט פנים חדשות: ה׳ י. קעימאך, וועלכער האט זיך באוועגט זייער פריי אויף דער בינע, ה׳ י. מלאטעק, וועלכער מוז נאך גובר זיין א סך אינערלעכע שטערונגען, אויב ער וויל זיך וויידמען דער יידישער סצענע־קונסט, ה׳ יאטער, וועלכער האט א גוטע דיקציע און א געוויסע טעאטער־רוטין, און אויך דער אלטער שאנכייער טעאטער־טוער, ה׳ ווינאגראדאוו, וועלכער האט פארווואורפס־לאז אויסגעפירט זיין אומדאנקבארע ראל אין שלום־עליכמ׳ס [!] איינאקטער.

דער הומאריסטישער מאנאלאג פון ר. יאקובאוויטש "א טעלעגראמע" האט טיילווייז איבערגעחזרט דעם מאנאלאג פון א. סוויסלאצקי, א חוץ דעם האט ער געליטן פון איבע־רגעלאדנקייט און וואסערדיקייט. פרוי שושנה אלס געניטע רעזשיסערן און טעאטראלין, דארף קענען קירצן אירע נומערן וואו מען דארף, און אויסמיידן אן איבערמידקייט ביים צושויער.

אין סך־הכל: אן אוונט פון אויפריכטיקן געלעכטער, וואס דארף באוועגן די קליינע גרופע יידישע טעאטער־מענטשן ביי אונז אין שטאט ווייטער צו ארבעטן אין דער ריכטונג פון ווייזן עכטע יידישע טעאטער־קונסט. פון שעפן פון טיפן קוואל פון יידישן הומאר, פון געבן גרויסע און גאנצע יידישע טעאטער־פארשטעלונגען.

מעם

Translation

A Yiddish Theater Evening in Shanghai

The "Evening of Yiddish Humor," arranged by the artist Shoshana[34] in the Jewish Club, was a tremendous success. The new auditorium, with the newly built stage, can hold 300 people and was filled to overflowing. Shanghai Jews probably don't speak Yiddish in every-day life, but they have a strong connection to Yiddish theater and its tradition of bringing joy to gray Jewish

34 This is Shoshana Kahan.

lives. The Yiddish artists who are today in Shanghai, therefore, must maintain an unquenchable interest in Yiddish theater. They must not give the starving people shreds and crumbs found usually in the first available but least appropriate sources, but indeed the real popular Yiddish theater as we know it from the old homeland.

The audience received with great satisfaction the news, announced earlier onstage by Shoshana, that the next performance being prepared is "Mirele Efros" by Jacob Gordin.

About the "Evening of Yiddish Humor" one thing can be said: the audience laughed heartily. And it is a great thing when, considering today's bitter times, it is possible to call forth in people not only a smile, but truly honest laughter. But the program of the evening did sin against great art. Even the one-act play "Two Times Sixty-Six"[35] by Sholem Aleichem has brought forth none of Sholem Aleichem's lucid language and his genuine humor, but only ambiguous allusions, as they are known from bad French farces. This one-act play is by no means characteristic of Sholem Aleichem and to some extent this weakens the memory of one of the greatest masters of Yiddish, which lives on in each of us.

Not bad, however, was the topical monologue by A. Svislacki,[36] presented by Mrs. Shoshana, "I Feel Good, I am a Refugee"… The unsuccessful end, however, nullified the effect created at the beginning of the monologue.

The tearful reading of Morris Rosenfeld's "On the Bosom of the Ocean"[37] and Sh. Frug's "The Cup"[38] by Mrs. Shoshana did not fit in with the general character of the evening.

The two sketches, "Garsonyerke" by M. Broderzon[39] and "He, She, and the Third" by an unknown author, both similar relating their subject, called forth much laughter from the audience. Aside from Mrs. Shoshana, some

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35 Sholem Aleichem's Yiddish Hanukkah comedy *In tsveyen a zeks-un-zekhtsik* (Two Times Sixty-Six; 1916) was published for the first time in 1921.

36 The Latin spelling is not clear, this could also be Swislatsky.

37 Rosenfeld (i.e. Moshe Jacob Alter; 1862–1923) was an American Yiddish poet and journalist who became known to a broader public in 1898 when an English translation of his poems appeared under the title Songs from the Ghetto. His Yiddish poem *Oyf dem buzem fun yam* (At the Estuary) is about Jewish emigrants whose entrance to the United States is denied and who are forced to return to Russia.

38 Shimen Shmuel Frug (1860–1916) was a Russian and Yiddish poet and writer. His Russian poem *Legenda o chashe* (Legend of a Cup; 1882) was a reaction to the pogroms in 1881; the poet Isaak L. Peretz translated it into Yiddish under the title *Der kos* (The Cup).

39 The important Yiddish poet, playwright, and journalist Moyshe Broderzon (1890–1956) was a leading figure in Yiddish *kleynkunst* (minor arts) theaters in prewar War-

new actors participated in the show: J. Keimach, who moved very freely on the stage; Y. Mlotek, who still has to overcome many inner limitations if he wants to devote himself to stage craft; Mr. Joter, who has good diction and a certain theater routine, as well as the old theater personage, Mr. Winogradow, who without opposition performed in his thankless role of Sholem Aleichem's one-act play.

R. Jakubowicz's humorous monologue, "A Telegram" has partially duplicated A. Svislacki's monologue; except from that, his performance suffered from being overloaded and wishy-washy.

Mrs. Shoshana, as director and theater expert, should have known which of her numbers could have been shortened to avoid tiring her public.

Altogether, an evening of genuine laughter that ought to motivate the small group of Yiddish theater here in our city working toward real Yiddish theater art. Deeper sources of Yiddish humor must be exploited in order to give great and whole Yiddish theater performances.
Mem

Document 147

Menakhem Flakser[40]
March 13, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Unzer lebn, no. 45, 1.
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די רעווי־פארשטעלונג פון קליינקונסט־טעאטער "די פריילעכע באמבע"

דער זאל פון יידישן קלוב איז געווען פול מיט מענטשן, דער עולם האט ערטערווייז אפילו גאנץ געשמאק געלאכט, אבער דאך איז דער אלגעמיינער איינדרוק געווען, אז דעם אוונט האבן געפעלט צוויי זאכן: גוטער געשמאק און – אמתע קונסט. און מיר האבן א רעכט זיך צו וואונדערן: גאנצע צוויי ליטעראריש לייטערס, אן ארטיסטישער לייטער, א מוזיקאלישער לייטער, אן אדמיניסטראטיוער לייטער, אזויפיל לייטערס, אן עין־הרע, און מיט די אלע לייטערס קאן מען אין ערגעץ נישט דערגרייכן.

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saw and Lodz. Many of his sketches were lost; cf. Gilles Rozier, Moyshe Broderzon. Un écrivain yiddish d'avant-garde, Saint-Denis 1999.

40 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

בלויז דער שלום־עליכם־נומער ״א זשורפיקס ביי די פאסטערנאקס״, הגם נישקשה־דיק ארומגעשניטן, און דער מאנאלאג פון ה׳ עלבוים (אין זיין אייגענער אויספירונג) האבן דערמאנט אין עכטן גוטן טעאטער. אזא נומער, ווי ״נאכט־שאטנס״, איז לויט אונזער בא־שיידענער מיינונג פשוט א סקאנדאל צו ווייזן. דאס גאנץ קארעקטע שפילן אויפן אקאר־דיאן דורך פרוי לין האט קיין שום שייכות נישט מיט יידישער קליינקונסט, און די יידישע לידער, געזונגען פון גרעטא קליינער, לאזן איבער א גאנץ בלאסן איינדרוק, סיי צוליב דער שוואכער אויספירונג און סיי צוליב דעם אפקלייב פון די טעקסטן.

פרוי שושנה איז געווען גוט בלויז אין שלום־עליכמס קאמעדיע, וואס עס האט אונז אן איבעריק מאל איבערצייגט, אז זי דארף שפילן טעאטער, און נישט אין אזעלכע שטיקלעך און ברעקלעך, וואס האבן נאר דעמאלט א חן, וועז די אויספירונג איז א פרעציזע און וועז די גאנצע אטמאספער איז אן עכט־קינסטלערישע.

דער קאנפראנסיע, ה׳ עלבוים, וועלכער האט אויסגעטראגן אויף זיינע פלייצעס א גרויסן טייל פון דעם דערפאלג פון אוונט, האט ליידער געזינדיקט מיט דערציילן אלטע ויצן.

ה׳ ווינאגראדאוו, וועלכן מיר קענען אלס גוטן אקטיאר פון אלטן טעאטער, האט אין איציק מאנגערס ״היידל־דידל־דאם״ אומזיסט זיך באמיט איבערצושרייען אלע איבעריקע פארטנערן און דערמיט באגראבן א גאלדענעם נומער. קארעקט, ווי שטענדיק, האט געש־פילט פרוי ביעלאווסקאיא און אויך פרל׳ עלענבערג אין שלום־עליכמס נומער.

אין ״מאנאלאג פון א שדכנטע״ פון א. סוויסלאצקי, אויסגעפירט פון פרוי שושנה, איז געווען א שפארע פארציע וואולגאריטעטן. וואו זענען געווען די ליטעראריש ע לייטערס?

אין דער אונטערשטער שורה: א יידישער טעאטער־אוונט מיט יידישע רייד און מיט געלעכטערס אויפן זאל, אבער – אן יענעם ציטער און יענער שטילער, טיפער הנאה, וואס עס גיט אונז עכטע, אפילו נישט גרויסע, קונסט.

מ. פ.

Translation

The Performance of Minor Arts Theater "The Happy Bomb"

The hall of the Jewish Club was filled with people. Here and there the audience even laughed. Still, the general impression was that the evening lacked two items: good taste – and true artistry. We are, therefore, justified in wondering: two literary directors, one art director, one musical director, one administrative director, so many directors, knock on wood. With all these directors, one cannot achieve anything anywhere.

Only the number by Sholem Aleichem, "A Regular Meeting at the Pasternaks," was passably pared and the monologue by Mr. Elbaum (performed by him) reminded us of truly good theater. Another number, "Night Shadows," was in our humble view simply scandalous. Mrs. Lin's accordion playing sounded quite right but it had no relationship whatsoever to Yiddish minor

arts theater. And the Yiddish songs, sung by Grete Kleiner, made a very pallid impression, be it for the weak performance, be it for the very selection of texts.

Mrs. Shoshana was only good in Sholem Aleichem's comedy. It convinced us once more that she must act in the theater and not only in such bits and pieces that are only attractive when the presentation is precise and the atmosphere truly artistic.

The success of the evening was, to a large extent, due to Mr. Elbaum's volubility. Unfortunately he sinned by telling old jokes.

Mr. Winogradow, whom we know as a good actor from the old theater, anxiously but in vain tried to predominate with his voice all his partners' voices in Itzik Manger's "Heidl-Didle-Dam,"[41] thus burying a brilliant number. Mrs. Bielawskaja played her role competently as always like Miss Elenberg did in Sholem Aleichem's number. The "Monologue of a Women Shadkhen" by A. Svislacki, presented by Mrs. Shoshana, was a conglomeration of vulgar jokes. Where were the literary directors?

And the bottom line is: a Yiddish theater evening, spoken in Yiddish and with laughter in the hall, but without that trembling and that silence, that deep enjoyment, which we obtain from genuine, even if not great art.
M. F.

Document 148

Mendel Lewkowitz[42]
April 17, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 3, no. 8, 5.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.9

41 Manger (1901–1969) was a popular Yiddish writer of ballads, poems, and stories in the interwar period. His satirical Yiddish poem *Rabeynu Tam* (Our Rabbi Tam; 1937) was also known by the title *Ikh vel aykh zingn dos sheyne lid* (I will sing for you the beautiful song) after its first verse; others disseminated it under the title *Haydl didl dum* after its chorus.

42 Mendel Lewkowitz (c. 1915–?) was a cantor from Beuthen and taught at the Shanghai Jewish School; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 58.

Bunter Abend im Seward Road Heim

Das Heim trat am Sonnabend, d. 14. Maerz mit seiner ersten Veranstaltung vor die Oeffentlichkeit. Um es gleich vorweg zu nehmen: Dem Abend war der grösste Erfolg beschieden und das überfüllte Haus verlebte einige überaus angenehme Stunden. Pünktlich um 7 Uhr eröffnete der Obmann des Ausschusses Herr Walter Koratkowski die Veranstaltung mit einer Ansprache, in welcher er auf die Arbeitsgebiete des Ausschusses hinwies und insbesondere auf das gute Zusammenarbeiten gerade in diesem Camp mit der Heimleitung und den Heiminsassen verwies. Den Reigen eröffnete Herr Willy Böhm, der 2 Lieder vortrug, am Klavier von Fritz Landsberg begleitet. Die junge vielversprechende Inge Blumenstein erfreute wie immer durch ihre Tänze das Publikum. In Salo Klotzer lernten wir einen feinfühlenden Verfasser von Gedichten kennen, von denen uns am meisten „Komödianten" gefiel. Der bekannte Kurt Lewin bewies auch an diesem Abend wieder, dass er von seiner alten Popularität noch nichts eingebüsst hat. In Herrn Lewinee [sic] begrüssten wir einen Sänger, der mit seiner wundervollen Bass-Stimme und seiner vollendeten Vortragskunst die Erschienenen begeisterte. Ueber Raja Zominah [sic] erübrigt es sich viel zu sagen. Sie stellte sicherlich den Höhepunkt des Abends dar. Karl Heinz Wolff[43] (Persönlich) trat nach langer Zeit wieder auf und verstand es wie immer das Publikum auf die amüsanteste Art und Weise zu unterhalten.

Spanische Lieder, die uns Frau Rogosinsky brachte und die auf der Gitarre von Herrn Goldstein einfühlend begleitet wurden, bildeten eine Abwechslung im Programm. In einem Sketch, in welchem Georg Feldmann, Marion Lissner und Karl Heinz Wolff die Versamelten [sic] zu wahren Lachsalven hinrissen, verstand es insbesondere Marion Lissner durch ihr reizendes und gewinnendes Spiel zu beweisen, dass ihr die Welt der Bretter eine Notwendigkeit bedeutet. Die gesamte künstlerische Leitung lag ausschliesslich in den Händen von Georg Feldmann, der sich dieser Aufgabe in hervorragender Weise unterzog. Auch seine Solo-Vorträge ernteten reichsten Beifall. In [sic] die Begleitung der Sänger teilten sich Frau Leisten, sowie die Herren Max Retzler und Fritz Landsberg, die in uneigennützigster Weise sich zur Verfügung gestellt hatten. Besonders hervorheben möchten wir Kurt Berger, der durch sein grandioses Spiel auf dem Klavier seine Kunst uuter [sic] Beweis stellte. Das Publikum jubelte ihm aus Dankbarkeit zu. Eine grosse Tombola,

43 No biographical details are known about Wolff, except that he appeared on Shanghai stages as a theater actor and cabaret artist. He wrote a poem for one cabaret evening (March 21, 1942) entitled *Der pflichtbewusste Maurer*; for an English translation of this poem cf. Eber, Voices, 82–84, 138.

zwei amerik. Versteigerungen und ein kleiner Tanz bildeten den Abschluss dieses überaus gelungenen Abends, der als Reinertrag für die Aermsten der Armen des Seward Camps eine sehr ansehnliche Summe einbrachte und somit seinen Hauptzweck voll und ganz erfüllte.
M. Lewkowitz

Document 149

Wolfgang Fischer[44]
June 6, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai-Woche, no. 2, 2.
Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

RAJA ZOMINA

Die kleine Raja[45] ist heute der Liebling Aller. Egal ob im Jewish Club in der Bubbling Well Road oder im Alcock-Heim in Hongkew, wenn ein Zomina-Abend angesetzt ist, dann gibt es ein ausverkauftes Haus, Riesenapplaus, Blumen, Begeisterung bei allen Erschienenen, gleich welcher Herkunft. Selbstredend sind die Landsleute von ihrer Raja besonders entzueckt, aber auch die, die die von der charmanten Diseuse gebrachten Vortraege in jiddisch nicht so gut verstehen, rasen [sic] Beifall. Es bewahrheitet sich eben immer wieder, dass wirkliche Kunst international ist.

Raja Zomina ist zweifelsohne eine ueberaus begabte Kuenstlerin. Ihrem Ausdrucksvermoegen, ihren Bewegungen, ihren Gesten, ihrer Gesangstechnik sieht und hoert man es sofort an, dass sie dereinst eine erstklassige Ausbildung genossen haben muss. Es kommt ihre Jugend, ihr Charme, ihre taenzerische Begabung und ihr vorteilhaftes Aeussere [sic] hinzu, Faktoren, die Vorbedingung fuer eine ganz grosse Karriere sind, der Raja Zomina mit Sicherheit entgegensteuert. Sie ist bereits heute so weit, dass sie in den grossen Weltmetropolen erste Erfolge erringen wuerde.

Raja Zomina, klein, zierlich, sensibel, figuerlich und auch im Aussehen stark an unsere unvergessliche Elisabeth Bergner erinnernd (Charles Boyer,

44 About Fischer, see ch. 6, n. 19.
45 All biographical details known about Zomina come entirely from this document.

Luise Rainer und die Bergner sind uebrigens ihre Lieblingsschauspieler),[46] hat das „gewisse Etwas" in der Stimme und im Vortrag, das sofort fuer sie einnimmt und den Zuhoerer enthusiasmiert.

Shanghai ist fuer jeden nach hier gekommenen Kuenstler ein schwieriges Pflaster. Der Kreis des kunstverstaendigen Publikums ist sehr klein und dieser kleine Kreis ist zudem, national gesehen, kolossal zersplittert. Die Folge ist, dass der hier wirkende Kuenstler ein Riesenrepertoire benoetigt, da er immer wieder von [sic] den gleichen Zuschauern auftritt. Raja Zomina hat auch in dieser Hinsicht einen Rekord aufgestellt, nicht weniger denn 80, sage und schreibe achtzig Lieder und Chansons brachte sie hier innerhalb eines Jahres zum Vortrag, eine ungeheuere [sic] Leistung, die dem Fleiss der kleinen Diseuse groesste Ehre einlegt, eine Leistung, von der sich der Laie kaum einen Begriff machen kann.

Ich darf wohl den Anspruch erheben, Raja Zomina in Hongkew populaer gemacht zu haben. Am 9. Maerz dieses Jahres brachte ich die Zomina anlaesslich des von mir im „Windsor" arrangierten Wohltaetigkeitstees „Zugunsten notleidender Journalisten" heraus und die bis dahin hier in unserem Vorort Unbekannte errang einen Riesenerfolg.

Das Publikum raste [vor] Beifall und verlangte immer neue Zugaben. Dieser Erfolg ist Raja Zomina seitdem treu geblieben, wobei zu bemerken waere, dass die Herren Veranstalter und Manager in den ersten 9 Monaten des Hierseins von Raja Zomina nicht bemerkt hatten, welch starke Begabung in unseren Mauern weilte. Raja Zomina, die am 1. Mai 1941 in Shanghai eintraf, gab ihren ersten, sehr erfolgreichen „Eigenen Abend" bereits am 18. Mai im alten Jewish Club, startete insgesamt zehn eigene Konzertabende und wirkte ferner bei 18 Wohltaetigkeitsveranstaltungen mit. Morgen, Sonntag werden wir, falls der diesjaehrig besonders launische Wettergott dies erlaubt, die reizende Kuenstlerin beim Sport-Abend im Picadilly-Garten begruessen koennen und wie stets wird sie auch hier den Beifall Aller haben.

Geradezu erstaunlich, wie sich Raja Zomina, die doch nur ueber ein kleines Stimmchen verfuegt, auch in so einem grossen, akustisch unvorteilhaften Garten durchzusetzen versteht. Ihre Vortragsweise, glaenzend unterstuezt [sic] von einem lieblichen, melodioesen, suessen Stimmchen, fesselt im Nu den Zuhoerer, geht zu Herzen, ruehrt zu Traenen oder schafft eine freudig erregte Stimmung. Raja Zomina bringt wundervolle Chansons zu Gehoer, alte, schoene jiddische Volkslieder, rytmische [sic] Weisen, mitreissende

46 Bergner (1897–1986) worked in Vienna, Munich, and Berlin before leaving for England until 1933. Boyer (1899–1978) was a French actor. Rainer (1910–2014) was brought up in Hamburg and Vienna, where she started her career; from 1935 until 1939 she worked in the United States, and after that in England.

Schlager, moderne Songs. In einem Lied sehen wir sie beispielsweise als Kind, als moderne Soubrette, als altes Muetterlein – und stets weiss sie restlos zu ueberzeugen. Besonders beliebt sind ihre Vortraege „Baranowitsch", „Mein Staedtele Belz", „Rosinen und Mandeln", „Der Zeitungsverkaeufer", „Die juedische Mamme" und von neueren, hier in Shanghai von Elbaum, Mlotek und Fischman[47] geschaffenen Liedern „Warschau", „Mutters Traenen", „Schweig Herz, schweig" und „Die Blumenverkaeuferin".

In dem grandiosen juedischen Drama „Der Dybuk" sahen wir Raja Zomina hier im Lyceum Theater auch als Schauspielerin, wie ja ihre ganze Liebe ueberhaupt dem Theater gilt. Bereits mit 11 Jahren stand die kleine Raja in Wilna auf der Buehne, sie wirkte im Schauspiel und bei der Operette und war auch als Solotaenzerin gemeinsam mit ihrer begabten Schwester Sonja[48] im Duett erfolgreich taetig. Sie hat also von der Pike auf gelernt und ihr grosser Lehrmeister war spaeterhin in Warschau beim dortigen juedischen Kuenstlertheater der beruehmte juedische Regisseur Sigmund Turkoff,[49] dem sie kuenstlerisch sehr viel verdankt.

In Warschau wurde sie vom Kriege ueberrascht und floh, in der Hand ein kleines Koefferchen. Nach vierwoechiger Wanderung kam sie nach Wilna und von da ging es via Sibirien nach Wladiwostok. Infolge Visaschwierigkeiten gelang es ihr nicht mehr nach Australien zu ihrer Schwester zu kommen, aber wir hier in Shanghai sind darueber sehr froh, denn sie hat unser hiesiges Kunstleben ungemein bereichert.

Raja Zomina ist noch sehr jung, die Welt steht ihr noch offen. Nach Beendigung dieses schrecklichen Krieges wird sie weiterreisen und ueberall, wo sie hinkommen wird, neue begeisterte Freunde und Zuhoerer finden.

Kleine Raja, Glueck auf, oder wie Du es zu hoeren gewohnt bist, „Massel und Broche"[50] fuer Deine weitere Zukunft, zu Ehren der juedischen Kunst, der Du bisher groesste Ehre eingelegt hast.
Wolfgang Fischer

47 Also spelled Fishman.

48 The actress Sonia Zomina (1916–1985) had already acted in a Warsaw Yiddish theater. She came to Australia before the end of the war but soon after immigrated to the United States, where she appeared on stage and in several movies.

49 Zygmunt Turkow (1896–1970) was the director of the renowned Warsaw Yiddish Art Theater (*Varshever Yidisher Kunst-Teater*, VYKT).

50 Yiddish, "good luck and blessings".

Document 150

Menakhem Flakser[51]
October 16, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Unzer lebn, no. 76, 1.
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

די יובילי־פארשטעלונג פון ד. מאבאס
"כאסיע די יתומה", רעזשי: ל. גיידאראוו

די יונגע שאנכייער בינע־קינסטלערין, ד. מאבאס, האט געפייערט אן אמתן טריאומף אין דער אלטער, אבער נישט פארעלטערטער גארדינישער מיט טרערן דורכגעווייקטער פיעסע "כאסיע די יתומה". אין ערשטן אקט, ווען דאס געזונטע יידישע דארפס־מיידל באג־עגנט זיך מיט דער גרויסער שטאט, מיט איר פאלשקייט, פלאכקייט, רשעות און פּוסטקייט, האט איר דערפילט, אז מיט דעם באווייזן זיך פון אט דער יונגער ארטיסטין אויף דער בינע האט אויף אייך א ווי געטאן מיט פרישקייט און מיט שטארקייט. איר טאלענט האט לעבעדיק געמאכט די געזונטע שיינע דארפישקייט אין קעגנזאץ צו דער גרויס־שטאטישער פארדארבנקייט. איר האט דערשפירט די הויפּט־אידעע, וואס האט באוועגט גארדינען צו שרייבען דאס שטיק, וואס ביי אלע זיינע מעלאדראמאטישע חסרונות בלייבט עס דאך א ווינקל־שטיין פון קלאסישן יידישן טעאטער־רעפערטואר.

עס איז געווען א גלענצנדער יידישער טעאטער־אוונט אין פולן זין פון ווארט. דער רע־זשיסער ה׳ ל. גיידאראוו האט זיך געגעבן פיל מי ארויסצובאקומען פון אמאטארן־קרעפּטן דאס בעסטע, וואס איז געווען מעגלעך אין די געגעבענע באדינגונגען. פרוי מינינא אין דער אומדאנקבארער ראל פון א יידענע – א מרשעת, וואס פארפיניקט נעבעך די ארעמע יתומה, איז געווען נאטירלעך און עכט. ה׳ פרידמאן אלס דער יידישער דארפס־ייד און אייביקער קבצן האט געשפּילט זיין ראל מיט א סך ליריזם און שטילער הארציקייט. ה׳ ווינאגראדאוו אין דער ראל פון יעקאטערינאסלאווער גביר, יולי טראכטנבערג, האט עטוואס שארזשירט די פיגור אזוי, אז צייטנווייז האבן מיר נישט געגלויבט, אז אויף דער בינע באווענגט זיך ווירקלעך א יוסטער יידישער גביר. ה׳ גיידאראוו האט אויסגעזען א ביסל צו־אלט פאר דער ראל פון וולאדימירן, אין וועלכן כאסיע פארליבט זיך, אבער מיט זיין קערנדיקן סצענישן טאלאנט האט ער געמאכט פארגעסן אן דעם.

דער ספּעקטאקל מיט זיינע לאנגע פיר אקטן האט קיינעם נישט מיד געמאכט און שפּעט אין דער נאכט האבן אלע מיט א געשפּאנטן אטעם נאכגעפאלגט די דראמאטישע סצענע, וועלן די יונגע מאמע, כאסיע די יתומה, מוז גיין פון דער וועלט צוליב דער רשעות און בורו־טאליטעט פון דער אומגעבונג.

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51 About Flakser, see ch. 7, n. 56.

עס איז געווען א גרויסע סצענישע לייסטונג פאר די היגע ארעמע באדינגונגען. די ״יובילארשע״, פרל. מאבאס, האט באוויזן, ווי קינסטלערישׂ־רייף זי איז געווארן און ווי זי איז אויסגעוואקסן פאר די פארלאפענע צען יאר.

עס זענען געווען אויך א סך בלומען און רעדעס. ה׳ בריק האט באגריסט אין נאמען פון דער יובילי־קאמיסיע און פון דער קולטור־קאמיסיע ביים יידישן קלוב און ה׳ מ. פלאקסער האט באגריסט אין נאמען פון דער רעדאקציע ״אונדזער [!] לעבן״, אנווייזנדיק, אז די ״יובילארשע״, אלס א שאנכייער עמיגראנטן־קינד, וואס איז דערצויגן געווארן פאר אונדז־ערע אויגן, פארשאפט מיט איר טאלאנט כבוד דער גאנצער היגער געמיינשאפט.

די יובילי־קאמיסיע אין די פערזאנען פון די ה״ה: בריק,[52] גענקין, שטיין, ראזענצווייג און גיידאראוו פארדינט א באזונדערן דאנק פאר דער פרעכטיקער ארגאניזירונג און דורכ־פירונג פונם אוונט.

מ. פ.

Translation

The Jubilee Performance of D. Mabas[53]
"Khasye the Orphan Girl," Directed by L. Gaidaroff[54]

Shanghai's young theatrical artist, D. Mabas, celebrated a true triumph in the old but not old-fashioned, tearsaturated play by Gordin, "Khasye the Orphan Girl." In the first act, when the healthy Jewish village girl encounters the large city with its duplicity, superficiality, wickedness, and hollowness, it proved the young actress on the stage conveyed what she sensed with immediacy and strength. Because of her talent she brought to life the healthy, beautiful village life in contrast to the urban depravity. One apprehended the main idea that moved Gordin to write this piece. Despite all its dramatic faults it still remains a cornerstone of the classic Yiddish theater repertoire.

It was literally a brilliant Yiddish theater evening. The director L. Gaidaroff invested much effort to get the best out of the amateurs under the given circumstances.

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52 הערן.

53 Doreen Mabas might have been a stage name; no biographical details are available.

54 The director Leo Gaidaroff (c. 1895–?) had the Soviet nationality; cf. <http://search.archives.jdc.org/multimedia/Documents/Names%20Databank/China/Additional%20Links/Complete_Nominal%20List%20China%20July%201955%20155112_02.pdf> (August 15, 2017). He also acted on stage occasionally (*Shanghai Echo*, April 28, 1946).

Mrs. Minina had the ungrateful role of a petty, wicked Jewish woman who abuses the poor orphan, yet she was natural and real. Mr. Friedmann[55] as the village Jew, forever stingy, performed very lyrically and with quiet feeling. Mr. Winogradow had the role of rich Mr. Yekaterinoslav; Yoyle Trakhtenberg became a somewhat exaggerated character so that one occasionally couldn't believe that a reputable Jewish rich man was really alive on stage. Mr. Gaidaroff looked a little too old in the role of Vladimir, with whom Khasye falls in love. But due to his hard-core stage talent he made us forget that.

The show with its four long acts didn't tire anyone, and until late at night everyone followed with bated breath the dramatic scene when the young mother, Khasye the orphan, must leave the world because of the maliciousness and brutality of her surroundings.

This was a great theatrical achievement in our poor circumstances. The jubilee celebrating Ms. Mabas has proved that she has become artistically mature and shown how she has grown in the last ten years.

There were also many flowers and speeches. Mr. Brick welcomed [the audience] in the name of the Jubilee Commission and the Culture Commission at the Jewish Club. Mr. M. Flakser[56] welcomed [the audience] in the name of the editorial staff of "Undzer [sic] lebn," pointing out that the jubilee celebrating person being a child of the Shanghai emigration who grew up here in front of our eyes brought honor to the entire community.

The Jubilee Commission as represented by the Gentlemen Brick, Genkin, Stein, Rosenzweig, and Gaidaroff deserves special thanks for the magnificent organization and execution of the evening.
M. F.

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55 Most likely Hersch Friedmann.

56 Menachem Flakser (1898–?) was born in Ostrolenka. He was a journalist in Poland and Paris, where he studied at the Sorbonne. In Shanghai he regularly contributed to *Unzer lebn*, and was for some time its editor. After the war he settled in New York, working at the YIVO and for the paper *Forward*; cf. Irgun Yotzei Ostrolenka in Israel (ed.), Book of Kehilat Ostrolenka. Yizkor Book of the Jewish Community of Ostrolenka, Tel Aviv 2009, 221, 275. According to Berl Kagan, Leksikon fun yidish-shraybers [Lexicon of Yiddish Writers], New York 1986, 714, 727, Flakser used the abbreviations *M. F.* and *Mem* to sign his Yiddish articles.

Document 151

Joseph Rotenberg[57]
October 30, 1942
Newspaper article, in: Unzer lebn, no. 78, 1.
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

י. ראטנבערג

וועגן א יידיש טעאטער אין שאנכיי

עס איז א פאקט, אז אין שאנכייער יידישן לעבן האט זיך אין לעצטן יאר א היפש ביסל א רודער געטאן. די יידישע געזעלשאפט אין שאנכיי האט זיך ווי אויפגעכאפט פון שלאף, אויסגעריבן די אויגן און דערזען, אז מיט שאנכיי ענדיקט זיך נאכנישט די וועלט און אוודאי שוין נישט די יידישע וועלט און דאס יידישע לעבן. די שאנכייער יידן האבן אנגעהויבן מער צו דערפילן און צו באגרייפן, אז זיי זענען נישט עפעס אן אפגעריסענער גליד נאר א מיטגליד פון דער גאר גרויסער גראנדיעזער משפחה וואס רופט זיך יידיש פאלק.

גורם געווען דערצו האבן, נאטירלעך נישט אין א קליינער מאס, די פארטריבענע יידן פון מזרח־אייראפע, איבערהויפט די יידן פון פוילן און ליטע. די יידן פון פוילן, וואס האבן געפירט און אנטוויקלט א רייך, פילפארביק יידיש קולטור־לעבן, האבן מיטגעבראכט מיט זיך יידישן לעבנס־שטייגער, יידישע קולטור־געווואוינהייטן און דער עיקר – א דראנג און בענקשאפט נאך יידישער קולטור־שאפונג.

צי האט דאס געקענט בלייבן אן שום אינפלוס אויפן שאנכייער יידנטום? פארשטייט זיך, אז נישט. אזוי איז שוין די אייגנארטיקע דיאלעקטיק פון לעבן. דער גלות פון פוילישן יידנטום איז אין א געוויסער מאס געווארן א שטיקל ברכה פאר די שאנכייער יידן. איבריקנס איז עס נישט דער אינציקער און ערשטער היסטארישער פראצעס פון דעם מין אין דער לאנגער געשיכטע פון יידישן פאלק.

אבער לאמיר זיך אומקערן צו פאקטן:

במשך פון דעם לעצטן יאר זענען דא פארגעקומען א היפשע צאל פארלעזונגען אין יידיש אויף יידישע און אלגעמיינע טעמעס. עס זענען ארגאניזירט געווארן ליטעראריש פארומס, קאנצערטן פון יידישן פאלקס־ליד, טעאטער־פארשטעלונגען. עס איז אויך דערשינען א ביכל אין יידיש (די סאציאלע פונקציע פון פאעזיע – י. ראפאפארט) און עס איז געשאפן געווארן א פארלאג אויף צו פאפולאריזירן די יידישע ליטעראטור און יידישן שרייבער אויפן ווייטן מזרח (עס איז שוין דערשינען דאס ערשטע וואגיקע בוך פון דעם דאזיקן פארלאג – א. נ.[58] יידישע שרייבער – י. ראפאפארט און עס גרייטן זיך צום דרוק נאך ביכער). ווי מיר זענען, א גאנץ שיינער סך־הכל פאר אזא פארהעלטניסמעסיק קורצער צייט.

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57 About Rotenberg, see ch. 3, n. 17.

58 אויפן נאמען פון.

פארשטייט זיך, אז נישט אלץ איז געמאכט געווארן גוט און סאליד: מקען האבן א סך באווארענישן און טענות אי צו די איניציאטארן פון די פארשידענע פראנשטאלטונגען און צו דער שאנכייער יידישער געזעלשאפט, וואס ווייזט נאך ווייט נישט ארויס געגנוג פארשט־ענדעניש דער יידישער קולטור, דער יידישער קולטור־ארבעט און קולטור־לעבן. אבער עס האט זיך פארט א ריר געטאן פון ארט.

און אויב סהאט זיך יא א ריר געטאן פון ארט, דארף מען זען די ארבעט צו פירן דער־פאלגרייך ווייטער, ווי זאגט מען: וואס ווייניקער גערעדט, אלץ מער געטאן. איין שטיקעלע קולטור־ארבעט, א קליין ביסעלע קולטור־לייסטונג. אפילו אויף איין באגרענעצטען [!] געביט, איז מער חשוב, מער איבערצייגנדיקער, ווי צענדליקער ארטיקלען און חקירות וועגן קולטור.

איך וויל זיך דעריבער דא אפשטעלן דערווייל אויף איין געביט פון יידישער קולטור־ארבעט אין שאנכיי, אויפן געביט פון טעאטער. ווי סאיז שוין אויבן דערמאנט געווארן זענען לעצטנס אדורכגעפירט געווארן א גאנצע רייע יידישע טעאטער־פארשטעלונגען. א טייל פון זיי זענען אויסגעפאלן בעסער, אנדערער ערגער. למען האמת דארף אבער פעסט־געשטעלט ווערן, אז די ווייט גרעסטע טייל פון די פארגעשטעלטע פיעסעס האבן געקענט ארויסקומען פיל בעסער און אנדערע האבן אין גאנצן נישט געדארפט פארגעשטעלט ווערן. פארוואס?

ווייל טעאטער־שפיל איז נישט נאר אזוי זיך א שפיל, וואס מען זיך אויספאלן בעסער אדער ערגער, נאר אן ענין זייער אן ערנסטער, צו וועלכן מען דארף צוגיין מיט גרויס יראת־הכבוד. יעדער פאלק האט די אמביציע צו האבן א גוט נאציאנאל טעאטער. טעאטער דאס איז איינער פון די הויפט־פאקטארן אין דער אנטוויקלונג פון דער נאציאנאלער קולטור. נישט נאר עס העלפט מיט שאפן די קולטור, נאר עס דערציט אויך די מאסן צו קענען גענישן פון איר. דארט ווערט געשליפן און בארייכערט דאס לעבעדיקע ווארט, עס קוואלט און שפרודלט דער פאלקס־הומאר און וויץ, אין דער ווארימער קאלעקטיווער טעאטער־אטמא־ספער ווערט געבוירן און געפפלעגט די פאלקס־מוזיק און דער פאלקס־טאנץ.

דער באריימטער סטאניסלאווסקי פלעגט זאגן צו זיינע שילער, אז דאס טעאטער איז א קונסט־טעמפל, וואו דער אקטיאר דארף אויספירן א היילקע עבודה, וואו ער דארף עמא־נירן פון זיך דאס שענסטע און דערהויבנסטע. אויפריכטיקייט, אוממיטלבארקייט און סר־בטעלקייט זענען גאר וויכטיקע עלעמענטן פון טעאטער־קונסט. יעדער אויסדרוק, יעדער באווועגונג, יעדער קלאנג אדער טאן טארן נישט זיין צופעליק, געקינצלט, נאר אינערלעך נויטוועניק און בארעכטיקט.

דאס דארף, פארשטייט זיך, וויסן און שטענדיק אין זינען האבן יעדער ארטיסט און נישט נאר א סטאניסלאווסקי־ארטיסט: נאך מער דארף וועגן דעם וויסן דער רעזישיסאר, וועלכער איז דער אייגנטלעכער קינסטלער־ארגאניזאטאר פון גאנצן שוישפיל.

האבן מיר דאס אלץ, אפילו טיילווייז, ארויסגעפילט אויף די דערמאנטע יידישע טעא־טער־פארשטעלונגען? ליידער, זייער זעלטן, און שולדיק דערין איז די צופעליקייט, פלאנ־לאזיקייט און נישט גענוג ערנסטע באציונג מיט וועלכע זיי זענען ארגאניזירט געווארן. און נאך איין וויכטיקע זאך: פאכמענישקייט וויל לאמיר זיך נישט נארן, דאס פרימיטיווסטע טעאטער מוז האבן רעזשי, ארטיסטן, מאטעריאל און א ... פיעסע.

אמת איז, עס איז זייער שווער צונויפצופארן די אלע זאכן, בפרט נאך אין שאנכיי, וואס איז ביז איצט וויט געווען פון יעטוועדער יידיש קולטור־לעבן, וואו עס איז צומאל אפילו

נישטא קיין לייטישע יידישע ביבליאטעק. צי דרינגט אבער דערפון, אז מען דארף רעזיגנירן, אז מען דארף אלץ לאזן אזוי, ווי סאיז געווען ביז איצט? בשום אופן נישט.

מען דארף די גאנצע טעאטער־ארבעט א ביסל רעארגאניזירן און קודם־כל פארגעד עלשאפטלעכן. די אויבנדערמאנטע דעפעקטן פון דער בידאיצטיקער טעאטער־ארבעט נעמען זיך דערפון, וואס די פריוואטע איניציאטיוו האט ביים בעסטן ווילן גארנישט געק־ענט דא אויפטאן, ווייל ביים מאנגל פון א רייכערן ארטיסטן־מאטעריאל, אנטשפרעכנדיקן רעפערטואר און גינסטיקע געזעלשאפטלעך־קולטורעלע סביבה, איז איבער די כוחות פון איין מענטש צו שאפן און צו ארגאניזירן א גוט טעאטער. עס דארף נאך דערבייַ געמאכן ווערן אין אכט, אז איין פריוואטע איניציאטיוו האט ארויסגערופן א צווייטע און די אזוי אויך ווינציקע ארטיסטישע כוחות און מעגלעכקייטן זענען צעשפליטערט און צעשטויבט געווארן.

דער אויספיר: עס דארף געשאפן ווערן א געזעלשאפט "פריינט פון יידישן טעאטער אין שאנכיי", וואס זאל זיך שטעלן די אויפגאבע צו שאפן א גוט סאליד יידיש טעאטער אין שאנכיי.

דאס איז נישט גלאט אזוי זיך, א גוטער וואונטש, נאר א זאך, וואס קען רעאליזירט ווערן. פון דער בידאיצטיקער ווינציקער דערפארונג קענען מיר פעסטשטעלן, אז די צוויי נויטיקסטע עלעמענטן דערצו האבן מיר: א) ארטיסטישע כוחות. פון די פארשידענע טרר־פעס קען מען אויסקלייבן א געוויסע צאל פעיקע און אפילו טאלאנטירטע ארטיסטן. ב) מיר האבן א היפש יידיש טעאטער־פובליקום, וואס האט באמת ליב יידיש טעאטער, א יידיש ליד און א יידיש לעבעדיק ווארט. אין דעם האבן מיר געהאט א מעגלעכקייט זיך איבערצוצייגן בעת די פארשידענע יידישע טעאטער־פארשטעלונגען, וואס זענען אזוי מאסנווייז באזוכט געווארן און זייער ווארעם אויפגענומען געווארן. און אויך אנטשפרעכנדיקע יידישע פי־עסעס ווען זיך שוין אויסגעפינען. דערויף האבן מיר דאך דא א יידישע שרייבער־גרופע, וואס ווען זיכער ארויסווייזן איר גרייטקייט מיטצוארבעטן.

דאס שאפן פון אזא טעאטער־געזעלשאפט דארף דעריבער נישט אפגעלייגט ווערן. עס איז די פליכט פון יעדן געזעלש.[59] קולטור־טוער ארויסצווייזן אינטערעס און איניציאטיוו אין דער הינזיכט. דאס טעאטער־געביט איז דערווייל איינס פון די געציילטע קולטור־גע־ביטן, וועגן וועלכן עס איז איבעריק צו דיסקוטירן, צי עס איז מעגלעך אדער אוממעגלעך אין שאנכיי (ווי למשל, די פארשפרייטונג פון יידישן בוך, אויפלעבונג פון יידישער שפראך, דאס שאפן א יידיש־נאציאנאלע שול). א יידיש טעאטער אין שאנכיי איז מעגלעך צו שאפן און האט אלע אויסזיכטן צו עקזיסטירן און זיך צו אנטוויקלען.

59 געזעלשאפטלעכן.

Translation

Joseph Rotenberg

About Yiddish Theater in Shanghai

It is a fact that during the last year in Shanghai's Jewish life quite a bit of excitement occurred. It was as if Shanghai's Jewish society awoke from sleep, rubbed its eyes, and saw that in Shanghai the world did not end and certainly not the Yiddish world and Yiddish life. Shanghai Jewry began to feel and to comprehend that they are not a severed limb, but members of the grand family which calls itself the Jewish people.

One of the causes was in no small measure the expulsion of the Jews from Eastern Europe, especially the Jews from Poland and Lithuania. The Polish Jews who had developed and had led a rich and colorful cultural existence brought along their Yiddish way of life, their Yiddish cultural customs and most importantly – their drive and longing for Yiddish cultural creativity.

Could this have remained without any influence on Shanghai Jewry? Of course not! Such is the unique dialectic of life; the diaspora of Polish Jews became to some extent a blessing for Shanghai Jews. By the way, this is not the very first historical process of this kind in the long history of the Jewish people.

But let us turn to facts:

In the course of the last year we heard here a good number of lectures in Yiddish, on Yiddish and general topics. Literary forums, concerts of Yiddish folk songs, and theater performances have been organized. Also, a Yiddish booklet appeared, *The Social Function of Poetry* by Y. Rapoport.[60] A publishing house was established for popularizing Yiddish literature by Yiddish writers in the Far East (the first important book of this publishing house, *Yiddish Writers* by Y. Rapoport, has already appeared, and more books are in preparation, ready for printing). As we can see, in such a relatively short time an altogether considerable sum.

Sure, not everything is done well and solidly. There could be some reservations and objections to the initiators of the performances and to the Shanghai Yiddish community, which is still far from fully understanding Yiddish culture, Yiddish cultural work, and cultural life. But the first motions have been made.

And even if it has moved only a little, one must continue to work diligently, as the saying has it: The less you talk, the more you do. A little cultural

60 The complete title of this booklet was *Der mahus fun dikhtung un ir sotsyaler funktsye* (The Essence of Poetry and its Social Function). It appeared in Shanghai in 1941.

work, a little cultural achievement, even in a limited area, is more important and more convincing than dozens of articles and studies of culture.

I want to pursue here one aspect of Yiddish cultural work in Shanghai, that of theater. As mentioned above, quite a number of Yiddish theater performances took place recently. Some of them turned out better, others worse. For the sake of the truth, it must be said that they could have been better while others should have never been performed at all.

Why?

Because a theatrical play is not simply acting, which can turn out better or worse but its concern is a serious one that must be treated with reverence. All peoples have the ambition to have good theater. It is one of the major factors in the development of a national culture. It not only helps to create this culture, but educates the masses to enjoy it. It is where the living word is refined and enriched, where folk humor and wit are flowing and gushing forth. In its collective warm atmosphere, folk music and folk dance are born and cultivated.

The famous Stanislavski[61] would say to his pupils that theater is an artistic sanctuary where the actor accomplishes holy work, where he can draw out the most beautiful and sublime things from inside himself. Immediacy and subtlety are important elements of theater art. No expression, no movement, no sound, and no tone should be accidental or artificial, but inherently necessary and justified.

Every artist, and not just the Stanislavski artist, must know this and must always take heed of it: This is all the more important for the director, who is the actual artistic organizer of the entire spectacle.

Did we feel all this, or at least some of it, in the above mentioned Yiddish theater performances? Unfortunately, only very rarely, and the blame for this is the randomness, non-planning and insufficient seriousness with which they were organized. Another important issue: professionalism. We cannot delude ourselves; the most primitive theater must have direction, artists, proper material, and … a play.

True, it is very difficult to bring together all these elements, especially in Shanghai which has been until now far from Yiddish cultural life and didn't even have a respectable Jewish library. But must we resign ourselves and leave matters as they have been until now? Definitely not.

Theatrical work must be somewhat reorganized and first of all integrated into society. The above mentioned defects of theater work derive from the

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61 Konstantin Stanislavski (1863–1938) was a Russian actor, director, and theater reformer. He strongly influenced the Russian avant-garde theater, and Yiddish and Hebrew theater as well.

fact that private initiative, despite the best intentions, cannot succeed in it. It is beyond the strength of a single human being to create and organize good theater in view of the scarcity of rich artistic material, an adequate repertoire, and a favorable socio-cultural environment.

It should also be noted that the private initiative has called for a second initiative, as its already meager powers and capabilities have been completely consumed.

The conclusion: a society must be created, "Friends of the Yiddish Theater in Shanghai," the object of which should be to organize a well and firmly established theater in Shanghai.

This is not a simple matter or merely a pious wish, but a matter that can be realized. From the previous, limited experience we can ascertain that we do have the most necessary two elements: (1) Artistic strength. From the various troupes we can select a certain number of capable and even talented actors. 2) We have a sizable Yiddish theater audience that truly likes Yiddish theater, a Yiddish song, and living Yiddish words. We had the opportunity to assure ourselves at various Yiddish performances that these have been seen by large audiences and were received very warmly. Therefore, appropriate Yiddish plays will also be found in the future. After all, we have here a group of Yiddish writers who will surely be prepared to cooperate.

The creation of such a theater society must not be postponed. It is the duty of every person engaged in the cultural sector of society to show an interest and initiative regarding this. The area of theater is currently one of the few cultural areas, and it is pointless to discuss whether they are feasible or not feasible in Shanghai (as, e.g., a wide distribution of Yiddish books, the cultivation of the Yiddish language, the creation of a national Yiddish school). A Yiddish theater can be created in Shanghai and has every possibility to succeed and develop.

Document 152

Anonymous
1942
Printed leaflet, 1 page (recto and verso).
Microfilm; YIVO, Meir Birman Collection; RG 352, folder 55

EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS
By J. Fein[62]
CATALOGUE
31.V. – 15.VI. 1942
Shanghai Jewish Club

JAPANESE MOTIVES:

1.	Daybreak on the waterside	(oil)
2.	Sun-spots	"
3.	Street	"
4.	Before a storm	"
5.	Flower seller	"
6.	City lights	"
7.	In the park	"
8.	Spring day	"
9.	Rain	"
10.	On the small bridge	"

BIBLE MOTIVES:

11.	Creating of the man	(Graphic)
12.	Eve	"
13.	Cain and Abel	"
14.	The Flood (A)	"
15.	" " (B)	"

62 Joni Fein (1913–2013; later known as Yonia Fain) left Poland in 1939 via Kobe, ending up in Shanghai in 1941. He was both a gifted poet and painter. He went to Mexico in 1947 where Diego Rivera, the well-known Mexican muralist, recognized his talent and sponsored an exhibition in Mexico City. In 1953 Fain relocated to New York and eventually began teaching at Hofstra University, which holds a collection of his artwork today. The only works from his Shanghai period Hofstra University has retained are a set of black and white drawings. According to Fain, he was unable to take his paintings with him when he left Shanghai.

16. Abraham "
17. Esau "
18. Jacob's dream "
19. Jacob and Rachel "
20. Young Joseph "

JEWISH MOTIVES:

21. Way to the village (China-ink and water-colour)
22. Village "
23. Fruit seller "
24. Rich and poor "
25. The porter "
26. The shoemaker "
27. With the grandchild "
28. The Thalmudist [sic] "
29. At learning "
30. Exiles "
31. Bargain (Graphic)

[|v|] TERRIBLE TIMES:

32. The long way (Graphic)
33. Without home "
34. In the woods "
35. Closed eyes "
36. Common fate "
37. Wrestl[ing][63] "
38. Before the execution "
39. Hands up! "
40. The Hanged (A) "
41. The Hanged (B) "
42. Town and country men "
43. Mother "
44. Laughter "
45. The cemetery "
46. By the lake (oil)
47. Polish village "
48. Landscape "

63 Page torn.

49.	In a garden	(Water colour)
50.	Burnt down village	"
51.	Behind the village	"
52.	Cool evening	"
53.	Portrait of Mrs. n. F.	(Coal Drawing)

Document 153

Gerhard Schaie[64] *(SMP)*
May 5, 1943
Typewritten report, 1 page; the page has a printed header; the station and date were filled in by typewriter; the signature is handwritten.
Microfilm; NARA (SMP Investigation Files, 1894–1944, Records of the CIA), RG 263, reel 18, file D 5422 (c)

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL POLICE
REPORT

Station … Foreign Affairs Section, C&S Branch *File No.* … *Date* … 5–5–1943

SUBJECT: Lecture by Rabbi Sober re "Judaism of To-Day"

1. Organizer: Jewish Gemeinde, represented by Mr. R. R. Glaser, 103 Kiukiang Rd., Tel.18047
2. Lecturer: Rabbi K. H. Sober, Rabbi of the Jewish Gemeinde, residing at 685/7 E. Seward Rd.
3. Time and date of lecture: 8:45 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., April 6th, 1943
4. Place: 207 Macgregor Rd.
5. Number of persons attending: 18
6. Object: To keep Jews interested in religious matters
7. Contents of lecture:

The title "Judaism of To-Day" was chosen by the lecturer in order to show what Judaism can mean to the present day Jew. Rabbi Sober said that the Jewish religion demands life in accordance with 3 main principles namely Justice, Truth, and Love. Even if many Jews have ceased keeping religious

64 About Schaie, see ch. 5, n. 71.

rites, which {m}are attending synagogues, obeying the religious prescriptions regarding food, keeping of rest on Sabbath etc., they should continue to live in accordance with the basic principles of Judaism. He stated that if those prinicles [sic] were followed there would be better care taken of the poor and of the education of Youth. Even for a not religious person the Judaism can guide a person's life. The ethical principles of the Bible have been accepted by the whole monotheistic world. This is something the Jews should consider and therefore set examples to all others. He regretted that the interest in Jewish circles for spiritual matters was very small and that particularly the younger generation did not attend lectures if [sic] this kind. He continued that the question to day is not whether Judaism will survive but whether Jewry will survive. The Jews are the only people who were not lead by politicians through the last 2000 years and who never during this period used force to maintain their existence. By keeping up the true spirit of Judaism and by living in accordance with it, the Jews can contribute to the welfare of all human beings.

8. Comment:

Efforts are made by several Jewish institutions to raise the interest in spiritual matters among Jews, particularly the refugees in Shanghai. These efforts have in the past had little result because it can be noticed that lectures like the above are always attended by the same kind of persons and so do not reach those for whom they are meant. As it is people are so deep in their every-day cares that they find little time and concentration for such things.

O i/c Foreign Affairs Section
C & S Branch
{G. Schaie}
D. S.

Document 154

T.
May 7, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 4, no. 17, 2.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.9

Ejas und wie weiter?

Für jeden, an den kulturellen Dingen in unserer Emigration Interessierten steht folgendes fest: Die EJAS, einst Vermittlerin wertvoller Konzerte und Mittlerin künstlerischer Darbietungen, hat in dieser Spielzeit jämerlich [sic] Fiasko erlitten. Ausser zweier Konzerte im November vorig. Jahres, wurde von dieser Organisation nichts geboten. Es wäre müssig, im Augenblick die Gründe des Versagens zu analysieren, gegeben ist die Tatsache, dass nichts geschah. Die Ereignisse der letzten Zeit haben uns nun vor neue Aufgaben gestellt. Es gilt, das gesamte Kunstleben und die Kulturarbeit unserer Gemeinschaft umzumodeln, zu zentralisieren und, unbeachtet gewisser ideologischer Differenzierungen, auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner zu bringen. Hieran mitzuarbeiten dürfte die Aufgabe all derer sein, die bis heute ihre künstlerischen [#######] en[65] Fähigkeiten bereits unter Beweis gestellt haben. Die Dringlichkeit des „Daches über dem Kopf" steht im Augenblick i. Vordergrund unseres Lebens. Sie zu lösen ist die Aufgabe berufener Stellen. Doch neben dieser Frage erhebt sich in Bälde neben der Frage d. Magens auch die Frage des Geistes und der Seele. Erinnern wir uns der Kulturbünde,[66] die uns einst Höchstmasse künstlerischer Ereignisse vermittelten. Die Verhältnisse hier liegen etwas schwieriger, jeder mit der Materie Vertraute weiss um die Schwierigkeiten, kennt den unendlich schweren Kampf, der jeder Veranstaltung vorausgeht. Und trotzdem, es sind Menschen genügend vorhanden, die in der Lage sind, das einst schon recht entwickelte „Musenkind", das schon fast der Agonie zu verfallen scheint, wieder dem Leben zuzuführen. Ueber das Wie wäre noch zu sprechen.
T.

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65 The word is only partially legible due to a crease in the paper.

66 The Kulturbund Deutscher Juden was established in Berlin in 1933 to support Jewish artists who had lost their jobs at state institutions. Dozens of such local and regional federations appeared afterwards as Jewish self-help organizations. In 1935 they were forced into the Reichsverband Jüdischer Kulturbünde, an umbrella organization for Jewish associations, organizations, religious communities, schools, and other educational institutions.

Document 155

Arthur Kornik[67]
November 26, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 72, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

"Pygmalion" By Bernard Shaw Staged By Fritz Melchior "Ensemble"

Professor Higgins, a well known linguist, meets a poor flower-girl in the street and takes a fancy to teach her to speak English with such a perfect accent and diction that would enable her to appear in the best society. Oberst Pickering, also a linguist, who lives and works together with Higgins, goes on a bet with him that he will not be able to do it. Eliza's first appearance in society proves an unexpected success. Pickering and Higgins decide to celebrate the bet won by one and lost by another with champaigne [sic], and both become sufficiently drunk. Eliza, looking like a grand dame, is with them, and while Higgins persists in seeing in her the flower-girl that he brought to a new status in life, the old Oberst treats her like a society lady. But Eliza is no more the little street-girl, she became not only a lady but also a woman and she is not only thankful to the man who made her into what she is but falls in love with him. There comes an explanation between her and Higgins when she accuses him of the fact that he never treated her like a woman but only as an object of a bet with his colleague.

The last act brings us close to the winding up. Eliza leaves Higgins' house and goes over to his mother. There takes place another explanation between her and Higgins which brings them together. The happy ends [sic] follows.

This is in short the contents of the drama. It is full of Shaw's spirit and humour which is especially vivid when applied to depicting moral and social conditions of life in English society.

The performance was preceded by a speech by Mr. Abraham, Comissioner [sic] of the Juedische Gemeinde.[68] He said that the collaboration between the "Ensemble" and the Cultural Department of the Juedische Gemeinde will result in further performances and also concerts, the program being worked out by the Gemeinde.

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67 Kornik hailed from Berlin. He edited *Der Mitarbeiter* in 1941 and 1942, and wrote articles for other Shanghai papers as well. He remained in Shanghai until 1947 at least; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 114.

68 R. D. Abraham was honorary president of the Jüdische Gemeinde.

Now as to the performance itself. One must remember that the stage of the Eastern Theatre is not a real theatrical stage, and therefore the setting and the decorations presented quite a problem. However, the setting of the first act painted by Richard Paulick[69] was excellent. Fritz Melchior proved himself an able producer and in the role of Oberst Pickering also a good actor. Herbert Zernik as Professor Higgins was in his element, and his temperament, vivacity and gestures were greatly appreciated. These two actors were well supported by Fritz Heller and Jenny Rausnitz. Kaethe Horsten, Else Thieme, Charlotte Sommer, and Fritz Schnitzer gave their best to support the performance.

Ursula Perlhoefter as Eliza deserves special mentioning. The development of a poor girl into a grand dame was presented with great artistic skill, the dialogue and gestures at all stages being up to the mark.

On the whole, it was a performance worthy of any great European centre, which showed that the Central European Emigrants have brought with them the spirit of European culture and the love for a real, good theatre.

The next performance of "Pygmalion" will take place on Saturday, December 4th at the Eastern Theatre.

The Ensemble is now engaged in rehearsing "X.Y.Z." by Klabund which will be staged on Saturday, December 18th.
Arthur Kornik

Document 156

Anonymous
December 3, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 4, no. 44, 2.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.9

Gala-Konzert der Foreign Pao Chia.

Am 27. November 1943 fand im Eastern-Theatre ein Gala-Konzert der Foreign Pao Chia statt. Um es vorweg zu nehmen sei gleich festgestellt, dass

69 The non-Jewish architect Richard Paulick (1903–1979) came to Shanghai for political reasons in 1933. In 1941 he married the Jewish emigré Thea Hess. From 1940 on he built sets for several EJAS theater performances. In late 1949 Paulick and his wife left Shanghai for Eastern Germany; cf. Kögel, Zwei Poelzigschüler, 201–203, 220–226, 237.

dieses Konzert in künstlerischer und gesellschaftlicher Beziehung ein voller Erfolg war, da es gelang, den zahlreichen anwesenden Gästen zu zeigen, wieviel kulturelle Güter die staatenlosen Refugees nach Shanghai gebracht haben.

Unter den Anwesenden bemerkte man seitens der Behörden Super-Intendant Yamaguchi und die Herren Schaie und Gonda vom Police Head Quarters, General-Direktor Kubota vom Office for Stateless Refugee Affairs mit Mr. Ghoya, Mr. Feder und den übrigen Herren des Office, von der Wayside Police Station der Officer in charge Chief-Inspector Shimizu mit den Herren Inspectoren Koyama, Gigarson und Yoshimizu, ferner die Herren Kovacs, Steinsberg, Simon und viele andere Beamte der Polizei-Stationen.[70]

Es ist schwer, aus dem reichen Programm und der Zahl der Künstler, die das Konzert bestritten, jemand besonders hervorzuheben, da alle wirklich ausgezeichnete Leistungen boten. Am eindrucksvollsten waren die Instrumentalsolisten, Professor Adler, Professor Kraus begleitet von Prof. Margolinski brachten ganz wunderbare Proben ihrer Kunst zu Gehör. Die Sängerinnen und Sänger: Rosl Albach-Gerstel, Irene Margolinski, Ilse Marcuse, Sabina [sic] Rapp, Lisa Robitschek, Josef Fruchter, Max Warschauer sangen bedankt mit stärkstem Beifall Lieder und Duette, Lotte Sommer stellte erneut ihre grosse Kunst als Tänzerin und Mimikerin unter Beweis.[71]

Dass das Programm reich, aber nicht zu lang war, geht am besten daraus hervor, dass niemand von der Zuhörerschaft den Saal verliess, bevor nicht der letzte Ton verklungen war. Alles in allem ein ungemein gelungener Abend, der sicherlich das Ansehen der Refugees gemehrt hat.

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70 For the members of the police authorities, see also Document 136. Slovakia-born Morris (Moritz) Feder (1917–2008) worked in Shanghai as a policeman, he later became active in refugee issues, and held an official position in the Czechoslovak Circle. In 1947 he immigrated to the United States; cf. <http://www.jewishmuseum.cz/news-detail/162-430/the-story-of-stranded-in-shanghai-continues-after-the-exhibition/> (November 2, 2016).

71 For these artists, see Document 67.

Document 157

A. G.[72]
December 10, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 74, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Theatre in the Designated Area

The establishment of Fritz Melchior's Theatrical Ensemble at the Eastern Theatre in the Designated Area should be warmly congratulated upon not only by all lovers of real, good theatre, but also by all those who watch with open or hidden misgivings the readjustment of refugee life under new conditions. For it is not only the high standard of the Ensemble's performances that has won our admiration, but the fact that this Theatre has already become the part and parcel of life in the Designated Area as judged by the attendance and the commendable arrangement due to which it is made accessible to all classes, including the camp-inhabitants, among the refugees.

Until now the Ensemble has staged two plays: "Men in White" by Sidney Kingsley,[73] American playwright, a drama depicting doctor's life and struggle between professional and personal, (which is known to Shanghai public by its screen version), and "Pygmalion," Bernard Shaw's popular comedy. The first piece was played three times, each time attracting capacity house, and though we have not seen it, as judged by wide acclaim of the public it must have been a success. "Pygmalion" by Bernard Shaw we had an occasion to see personally after having seen it performed by different casts including the English A.D.C.,[74] and take great pleasure in stating that the standard of Ensemble's acting leaves far behind those provincial standards to which we – vollens-nollens [sic] – grew accustomed after living for some time in the Far East.

In "Pygmalion" we had pleasure in making our first stage acquaintance with Fritz Melchior, Herbert Zernik, Fritz Heller, Ursula Perlhoefter, Else Thieme, Jenny Raushnitz [sic] and others, a strong and extremely well matched cast which performed "Pygmalion" in real vein of Shaw's unexcelled humor interspersed with biting satire. It is impossible, however, not to mention Herbert Zernik, who in the part of Professor Higgins showed himself a

72 This may have been Anna Ginsbourg, see ch. 3, n. 121.
73 Kingsley wrote *Men in White* in 1933. It was a great Broadway success, and won the Pulitzer Prize for drama in 1934.
74 Amateur Dramatic Club of Cambridge University, founded in 1855.

first-class artist, and Ursula Perlhoefter playing Eliza, of whose performance one is unable to speak too highly. The production of Fritz Melchior added that specific touch to the show which distinguishes metropolitan stage from its provincial counterpart, the setting and decorations still accentuating this element.

These brief remarks on the quality of the performance that was reviewed by us elsewhere before are made only with a view to emphasizing that the Ensemble, which has all the makings of a fine theatre in the better sense of the word, should be given patronage by wide circles of Shanghai public. But there is something else except good acting upon which the success of each good theatre depends, namely, its repertoire, and to this subject we intend to devote our special attention. As announced, the next play staged by the Ensemble will be "X.Y.Z.," a comedy by Klabund which is unknown by us and we, therefore, are unable to judge of its theatrical and other merits. However, the fact that after having staged "Men in White," a powerful drama, the Ensemble has put on the "Pygmalion," one of the best but still a bit outfashioned Shaw's comedies and is now rehearsing another comedy, makes us presume that its repertoire has been worked out along the line of preference of comedian plays of good repute in European and American theatres. It is hardly disputable that the comedy performed in good setting and played by skilled artists imparts that special esprit of its own that is difficult to define by words and that may be specially wished for by the refugee audience, but we take the liberty to presume that some classical dramas with emphasized heroic and human element may be likewise desirable and would be equally well received by the public.

And one more point in this connection we should like to bring to the producer's attention, namely, our special desire to see performed by the Ensemble plays with Jewish contents depicting either the Jewish milieu or giving expression to typically Jewish problems. To include in its repertoire plays with bearing on Jewish peculiar issues and destiny would be quite appropriate for the Theatre in Exile, in our opinion, from the psychological viewpoint, and in this connection we cannot but deeply regret the fact that Mr. Abraham,[75] Commissioner of the Juedische Gemeinde, when speaking on behalf of the Gemeinde at one of the opening performances, stressed the fact that the Gemeinde is ready to promote the Ensemble as "the carrier of West-European culture in exile." In our opinion, this fact is self-evident and hardly needs any stressing, since the refugee artists brought with them that culture in which they had been reared. We should think that the Juedische Gemeinde's patron-

75 This was R. D. Abraham.

age of the Ensemble should primarily concern the issues set by us with a view to introducing that national element in their Theatre which would convert it from the West-European Theatre in Exile into the Jewish Artists' Theatre in Exile.
A. G.

Document 158

Erwin Felber[76]
December 14, 1943
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Jewish Chronicle, 2.
Microfilm, NLI, Willy Tonn Collection, Arc. 4° 1899

S.M.A. Orchesterkonzert

In dem eiskalten Eastern Theater brachte es das Orchester der Shanghai Musician Association[77] unter Mithilfe von zwei ganz ausgezeichneten Solisten zustande, dem Publikum warm zu machen. Sowohl der Cellist W. Joachim als auch der Pianist Gregor Singer haben europaeisches Format, beide musizieren mit der gleichen Sachlichkeit, nach innen gekehrt, bescheiden, keineswegs eitle Virtuosen, die um die Gunst des Publikums buhlen.

Joachim spielte im Kol Nidre von Bruch das Cellosolo mit bluehendem grossem Tone, der an den Hoehepunkten maechtig anschwoll. Sein Cellogesang war im Kol Nidre wahrhaft eine andaechtige feiertaegige Zwiesprache mit Gott, wie es jede echte Kunst sein soll.

Gregor Singer bestand siegreich in schwerem Kampfe gegen einen „klangtauben" Fluegel und gegen die Untertemperatur des Saales. Nichts von den Hindernissen merkte man in dem perlenden Spiel des reifen Kuenstlers, der in einer Orchester Polonaise von Chopin und in den Piecen von Dohany[78] und Johann Strauss bei aller Gefuehlswaerme eine moderne sachliche, alles Uebersentimentale meidende Auffassung bekundete.

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76 About Felber, see ch. 4, n. 146.

77 The Shanghai Musicians Association of Stateless Refugees was a union that advocated fair wages and working conditions.

78 Felber obviously meant the Hungarian-American composer Ernst von Dohnányi (1877–1960). Budapest's Great Synagogue was on Dohány street.

Neben den Solisten gab es noch eine richtige Sensation: Aus der Shanghai Musician Association of Stateless Refugees ist durch Zuziehung von Philharmonikern und anderen Musikern ein so gut wie neues Orchester hervorgegangen. Die Streicher klingen ganz prachtvoll, die wenigen Blaeser sind vorwiegend anderwaerts bewaehrte Musiker.

Leiter des Orchesters war Otto Joachim.[79] Wenn es richtig ist, dass Uebung den Meister macht, so hat Joachim, der wohl nur wenige Proben mit dem jungen Ensemble zur Verfuegung hatte, vorlaeufig noch die Anwartschaft auf die Meisterschaft vor sich. Gleichwohl gab es einen genussreichen Vortrag der vorwiegend auf romantische Klangwelt angelegten Orchesterwerke. Die Hebriden-Ouvertuere, ferner die Zweite Arlesienne-Suite und Kaukasische Skizzen von Ippolitow Iwanow, in deren reichen Orchesterfarben die gleiche suedliche Sonne leuchtet, liessen ebenso den Stil der Komponisten, wie auch den Fuehrerwillen des Dirigenten erkennen und die Wiedergabe wird wohl bei den Wiederholungen durch weiteres Ausfeilen noch gewinnen.

Wie es heisst, soll das leichte amusante [sic] Konzert demnaechst im Lyceum wiederholt werden, und so darf man dem jungen, wagemutigen Ensemble, welches vom Publikum stuermisch bedankt wurde, weiterhin anhaltenden Erfolg wuenschen.

Dem Mutigen gehoert die Welt!
Erwin Felber

79 Otto Joachim (1910–2010), the brother of Walter Joachim, studied violin in Düsseldorf and Cologne before emigrating to Singapore in 1934. After spending several years there he came to Shanghai, where he opened a music store. In 1949 he settled in Canada; cf. Xu, Jews, 231 f.

Document 159

A. K.[80]
January 7, 1944
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 78, 2.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

A Light Opera – The Bayadere

The Adolf Breuers Operette Ensemble performed the operette [sic] "The Bayadere"[81] on New Year's Eve. This operette, written by Emmerich Kálmán, has already been performed in Shanghai by Russian artists. The prima-Donna Rosl Albach-Gerstel showed her excellent ability as singer, actress, and even dancer and charmed the audience. Also, her costume struck every one by its beauty. Erwin Freiser,[82] the actress' leading man, a first rate actor of good appearance added to the general success of the performance. We must also mention charming singing and vivacity of Carla Breuer who earned much deserved applause in the trio with Max Brodtman and Fritz Frieser.[83] Leo Schonbach's [sic] orchestra fulfilled its task with great skill. Gyula Singer's decoration and general "mise en scene" deserve great praise.

A side-show was presented in the second act by Brady, the magician, Janny [sic] Rausnitz the ventriloquist, Charlott [sic] Sommer in a Parisian Cancan.

The operette enchanted the whole audience and can be easily considered as one of the greatest successes of the season.
A. K.

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80 This was possibly the journalist and critic Alfred Kahn from Frankfurt/Main who wrote many articles on cultural events for various emigrant papers. He was for some time the editor of the *Shanghai Jewish Chronicle*; cf. Seywald, Journalisten, 335.

81 The operetta *Die Bajadere* by the Hungarian-Jewish composer Kálmán (1882–1953) premiered in Vienna in 1921.

82 Typo for Frieser (c. 1897–?); he was an operetta tenor and cuff button producer from Vienna.

83 The actor and operetta director Friedrich (Fritz) Frieser (c. 1902–?) was Erwin Frieser's brother.

Document 160

M. K in.[84]
March 20, 1945
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 187, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

"Cavalleria Rusticana" at the Eastern Theatre

A strictly classical evening was presented to music-lovers on Febr. 6 at the Eastern Theatre. The programme consisted of a concert of 3 Italian operas and Mascagnini's [sic] one act "Cavalleria Rusticana."

The selection of music for the concert was good. Verdi's "Traviata," Puccini's "Tosca," and "Bajazzo" by Leoncavallo, its execution, however, left much to be desired. The Winternitz Orchestra augmented by several members of the Shanghai Philharmonic Orchestra, was not up to its usual standard, as a matter of fact one had the impression that the musicians were unconducted so sadly were they lacking in harmony. The beautiful melodies were played in so dispirited and colourless a manner that the audience could not feel the elation usually accompanying good music.

During the intermission a few words were said in memory of Leo Schoenbach and one minute's silence was observed. The well known celloist Krauss then played a solo dedicated to the departed conductor.

The second part of the performance, namely the presentation of "Cavalleria Rusticana" was a great success. Margit Langer-Klemann who sang the role of Santuzza has a rare and beautiful soprano and displayed unusual technique, purity, depth and tenderness in the rendering of her part. Turiddu, her faithless lover, was portrayed by Hans Bergmann. His voice is on the same high level as Margit Langer-Klemann's and its richness and strength were a joy to the ear. The duet wherein Turiddu rejects Santuzza was a musical treat in itself and held all listeners spell-bound. The rest of the cast featuring Bella Resek, Karla Breuer and Ludwig Korsell gave a creditable performance as did the chorus of male and female voices. Happily, the playing of the orchestra improved considerably and their accompaniment of the soloists showed good judgement. The burst of applause at the drop of the curtain spoke volumes but we venture to say that we would appreciate more entertainment so rich in musical value and much oftener.

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84 This is the same author as that of Document 139.

Document 161

Ernst Pollak[85]
April 11, 1946
Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald, no. 41, 4.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.1

„Die Masken Fallen"
Zu der bevorstehenden Festvorstellung

Depression, Willenslaehmung und Mutlosigkeit hatten die Voelker Europas befallen. Deutschlands Kriegspotential war auf seinem Hoehepunkt angelangt und schier unaufhaltsam rollten seine massiven Riesentanks durch Doerfer und Staedte, ueberflogen schwere Bomber und blitzschnelle Jagdflugzeuge fremde Gebiete, ueberschwemmten seine Millionenheere und braunen Horden neue, vom Kriege bisher unberuehrt gebliebene Laender. Doch niemals erlosch in den Herzen der freiheitliebenden Menschen die Zuversicht. Unverwandt richteten sich ihre Blicke auf das wie ein Fels im Meere standhafte, noch immer kompromisslos weiterkaempfende England, und gespannt lauschte das Ohr auf Nachrichten aus der Heimstaette wahrer Demokratie – Amerika.

So war die Lage im Herbst 1940, als in Shanghai die beiden Autoren Mark Siegelberg und Hans Wiener das fuenfaktige Schauspiel „Die Masken fallen" verfassten. Ein Zeitstueck – ein Tendenzdrama. Nazi-Oesterreich um die Zeit des Anschlusses herum, Nazi-Deutschland. Lebenswarm und lebensecht werden Menschen dieser Laender auf die Buehne gebracht, dargestellt in ihrer ganzen Verlogenheit und Niedertracht, Brutalitaet und ihrem Zynismus, ihrer Heuchelei und Gewalttaetigkeit. Hoehepunkt: die Szenen im Konzentrationslager. Doch dies sollte dem Schauspiel nicht den Stempel aufdruecken. Dazu war es auch 1940 schon zu spaet. Die Kriegsfackel loderte, der Weltbrand war entflammt. Jahre vorher, als der offene Kampf der Barbarei nur gegen das Judentum gerichtet war, damals war ja die Welt blind und taub gewesen. Was haette diese Tendenz des Dramas jetzt noch nuetzen koennen?

Aber wie ein roter Faden zieht durch die Handlung des Schauspiels die Gestalt einer Frau. Christine Brach, die Gattin des Helden. Ihr Charakterbild ist es, welches dem Werk erst die von den Autoren gewollte Richtung verleiht. Es ist die im Erloeschen begriffene, aber durch die Not und das Elend, durch die Verfolgung und Peinigung ihres Mannes neuerwachte Gattenliebe. Ihre

85 About Pollak, see ch. 4, n. 126.

Charakterzuege und ihre Handlungsweise sind das Spiegelbild dessen, wozu jeder Deutsche mit einem Funken von Gerechtigkeitssinn, Humanitaet und Toleranz verpflichtet gewesen waere. Waeren alle Frauen Deutschlands wie diese Christine gewesen, die Welt wuerde heute wahrlich ein anderes Antlitz haben.

Denn waehrend diese Frau verzweifelt um die Rettung ihres Mannes kaempft, da erkennt sie erst voll und ganz, was Antisemitismus bedeutet, da kommt es ihr erst zum Bewusstsein, was der Nationalsozialismus bezweckt und wohin er fuehren wird. In ihrem Kampfe sieht sie, wie die „Masken fallen".

Seit dem 9. November 1940, als das Schauspiel „Die Masken fallen" in den Raeumen der britischen Gesandtschaft in Shanghai uraufgefuehrt wurde, mussten fast fuenf Jahre vergehen, musste die gesamte Menschheit erst durch Stroeme von Blut und Meere von Traenen waten, mussten hunderte Millionen Menschen erst nie dagewesene Hungersnot und Epidimien [sic] kennen lernen, musste erst unsagbares Leid und Elend ueber die Welt kommen, ehe diese Welt das einzigartige Schauspiel erleben darf, mit offenen Augen und Ohren zu sehen und zu hoeren, wie heute von den groessten Kriegsverbrechern aller Zeiten, von Ministern und hoechsten Kommandanten herab bis zu den Aufsehern und SS-Leuten „die Masken fallen". Feige und erbaermlich ist ihre Rechtfertigung. Sie alle tragen keine Schuld. Schuld tragen die Toten. Alles, alles leugnen die Kriegsverbrecher, nur eines nicht. Den Judenhass. Fuer sie ist der Jude noch immer vogelfrei – der Antisemitismus straflos.

Deshalb muss ein Schauspiel, wie wir es in einigen Tagen zu sehen bekommen werden, immer und immer wieder aufgefuehrt werden. Nach den ersten zwei Auffuehrungen in Shanghai gelang es der damals so aeusserst maechtigen politischen Reaktion, die Einstellung der weiteren Auffuehrungen zu erzwingen.[86] Heute ist das Gebaeude des Faschismus niedergebrannt und eingestuerzt. Doch unter dem Gebaelk glueht noch ein Funke. Der gleiche Funke, an dem sich der zweite Weltbrand entzuendete. Das gleiche Gift, an dem Deutschland damals toedlich erkrankte – Antisemitismus. „Die Masken fallen" sind [sic] heute so aktuell wie sie es waren. Die Methoden haben sich geaendert, das Problem ist das gleiche geblieben.
Ernst Pollak

86 The performance of this anti-Nazi play triggered strong resentments among the German Nazis in Shanghai, which they expressed in letters to the editor of the NCDN. Michel Speelman took part in this controversy, and wrote that provocative subjects should generally be avoided in Shanghai; cf. Philipp/Seywald, Hans Schubert, 15–17.

Document 162

Lothar Brieger[87]
April 7, 1946
Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer 37, 18.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1851.1

Lothar Brieger

Emigration und kuenstlerische Produktivitaet

Wenn man den Feinden der Emigration – sie sitzen uebrigens nicht nur ausserhalb Shanghais – Glauben schenken darf, sind die Emigranten hier nur mit dem Gedanken von ihren Schiffen gestiegen, wie sie hier so schnell und so kraeftig wie moeglich Geld verdienen koennten. Ich habe in den ersten Jahren meines Hierseins so oft den Vorwurf eines allerseits mangelnden Idealismus gehoert, dass ich den Kampf gegen diese toerichte Behauptung sehr bald aufgab. In Wahrheit ist merkwuerdigerweise eine der ersten Ideen der Emigration gewesen, wie sie ihren alten Kulturstandard aufrecht erhalten und mit der Kultur Chinas Fuehlung gewinnen koennte. Wir duerfen nicht vergessen, dass die Emigration in sehr hohem Grade eine gemischte Emigration war. Ein ungewoehnlich hoher Prozentsatz akademisch gebildeter und stark gebildeter Menschen gab ihr von vornherein nicht den entscheidenden Charakter – der entscheidende Charakter war und musste Not sein – aber doch eine bestimmte und ohne Zweifel nicht tiefstehende Note [sic]. Ich glaube nicht, dass irgendeine Emigration soviel Buecher mit in ihr neues Land gebracht hat wie gerade die unsrige. Die Anzahl der Menschen, die bei dem Zusammenpacken ihrer Habseligkeiten ihre Bibliothek unter keinen Umstaenden in der verlorenen Heimat lassen wollten, war derartig hoch, dass allein schon dieser Umstand, wenn ihn unsere Kritiker ueberblicken koennten, Hochachtung anstatt Tadel hervorrufen muesste. Der Buchhandel und nicht zuletzt die Bibliophilie in Shanghai haben durch diesen geistigen Zustrom aus der Emigration eine Anregung und einen Aufschwung erfahren, die sie nicht undankbarerweise vergessen sollen. Selbst die Leihbibliothek, auf die wir daheim immer so schimpften, ist hier zu wesentlich mehr geworden als einer geistigen Futterstelle, sie hat eine kulturelle Bildungsaufgabe

87 Brieger (also Brieger-Wasservogel; 1879–1949) was a noted art historian, journalist, and critic from Berlin. He occasionally wrote for Shanghai papers and taught literature and art at St. John's University. He left Shanghai in 1947, and eventually returned via Italy to Berlin; cf. Messmer, Jewish Wayfarers, 181 f.

uebernommen und das oft mit Wuerde und Anmut ertragen. Wenn […][88] in den Kaffeehaeusern […] sassen, hoerte man sie […] von Dollars und Pfunden […] auch merkwuerdig[…] Eindruecken ganz anderer Art […] von guten Buechern. Ich erinnere mich noch aus der fruehen Emigration einer Zusammenkunft im russischen Club[89] – eigene Raeume fehlten – mit fuehrenden Persoenlichkeiten, die durchaus schon damals ein Kulturdepartement mit weit verzweigtem Programm begruenden wollten. Und als ich mich kurz dagegen erklaerte mit dem Motto, „erst Lebensnotdurft, dann Kultur!", wurde ich seither als schnoeder Materialist betrachtet. Wobei ich zweifellos letzten Endes Recht behalten habe, denn Kultur ist Ende und nicht Anfang, Gipfel und nicht Basis, und es ist eine Eigentuemlichkeit aller Dilettanten, die Pyramide von der Spitze an aufbauen zu wollen.

Es ist notwendig, sich grundsaetzlich ueber das Verhaeltnis zwischen Emigration und kuenstlerischer Produktivitaet klar zu werden, will man ueberhaupt den Leistungen einer so einzigartigen Emigrantenkolonie wie Shanghai irgendwie gerecht werden. Ist Emigration kuenstlerisch produktiv oder ist sie es nicht? Das Fragezeichen nach diesem Satze ist von innerlicher Berechtigung. Es hat in der Weltgeschichte genug Beispiele der Emigration gegeben, die zu dieser Frage herangezogen werden koennen. Aber die Tristia ex Ponto des Ovid[90] wirken trotz schoen gefuehlter Zeilen, neben seinen Metamorphosen kaum anders als die Klagebriefe, die wir an Kitchenfund oder Joint zu schreiben pflegen. Sie sind literarisch gleich wertvoll und haben auch ungefaehr den gleichen Erfolg gehabt. Gewiss, das Hauptwerk Michelangelos ist in Rom beschlossen, aber das eigentliche Gefuehl seiner Persoenlichkeit wird doch nur in dem von ihm verlassenen Florenz lebendig, wenn wir ueber den schmalen Korso zur Casa Buonarotti wandern. Leonardo in Frankreich, welch ein Trauerspiel: Die Dante-Kapelle in Ravenna, trueb und neblig wie die ganze Stadt, ein Traenen reizendes Ende eines der groessten Dichter aller Zeiten. Oscar Wilde, der die Salome franzoesisch geschrieben hatte, starb wie Ovid in Pontus in Paris in [sic] gebrochenem Herzen. Ich weiss in Literatur und bildender Kunst – ueber die Musik moechte ich mir kein Urteil erlauben – kein Werk ersten Ranges, das in der Emigration entstanden ist. Auch in der Gegenwart. Die Werke aller der Schoepfer, vor denen unsere Ehrfurcht

88 The lower left corner of the page is torn, therefore about three words of the last five lines of the first column are missing. The entire page has a crease, rendering one line of both columns partially illegible.

89 This is the Shanghai Jewish Club.

90 *Tristia* (Lamentations) and its continuation *Epistulae ex Ponto* (Letters from the Black Sea) are elegiac epic poems in which Roman author Ovid describes the hardships and grievances of his exile in the years 8–17 CE.

durch ihr Emigranten-Schicksal noch erhoeht wurde, liegen in ihren Gipfeln vor ihrer Emigration. Und man halte mir nicht Holbein oder Lefcadio [sic] Hearn entgegen! Der einzigartige Holbein musste aus dem Engen in das Weite, und Hearn war ein Mischblut.[91]

Ich glaube, den Moeglichkeiten kuenstlerischen Schaffens und Geniessens, die in der Emigration liegen und ihre Arbeit verlangen, wird durch solche Erkenntnisse nichts von ihren Werten genommen. Die Emigration ist naemlich nicht kuenstlerisch schoepferisch, die Emigration ist konservierend. Ihr ist die Aufgabe gesetzt, was sie von kuenstlerschen [sic] Werten enthaelt und mit sich bringt, zu erhalten, weiter auszubauen und dafuer Sorge zu tragen, dass sie diese kuenstlerischen Elemente nicht verliert, sondern in die Zukunft nach der Emigration weiter ueberliefert. Wenn einmal der Strom der Emigranten in ihre traurig zerstoerten Heimatlaender zurueckfluten wird, dann wird er diese Heimatslaender [sic] mit einer Fuelle von kuenstlerischer Kraft und Tradition befruchten. Es ist mein sicheres Gefuehl, dass wir nach diesem Zeitalter von Barbarei, Zerstoerung und seelischer Verwuestung wieder einmal in gar nicht allzu langer Zeit ein Zeitalter kultureller Selbstbesinnung und kuenstlerischen Wiederaufbaus zu erwarten haben. Welchen Anteil die Migration der ganzen Welt an diesem neuen kulturellen Aufbau haben wird, ist noch garnicht auszudenken. Und Shanghai wird nicht an letzter Stelle bei dieser Aufgabe stehen. Die meisten Menschen von uns haben – lassen Sie mich offenherzig sein! – hier ueberhaupt erst schreiben gelernt. Ich glaube, wenn man die Briefe eines heutigen Shanghaier Emigranten mit seiner Korrespondenz vor zehn Jahren vergleichen wuerde, kaeme man aus dem Erstaunen nicht heraus. Eine grosse Anzahl wirklich kuenstlerisch begabter Menschen ist jung, manchesmal schon im Kindesalter, hierher gekommen, viele von ihnen haben, ungestoert von fachlichen Irrungen und Wirrungen, ihre Persoenlichkeit und ihre Mittel sachlich und auf sich selbst angewiesen hier weiter entwickeln koennen. Trotz zehnjaehriger Emigration liegt ihre Zukunft erst vor ihnen und wird sich in aller Fruchtbarkeit zeigen. Und wenn man sich darueber wundert, dass aus grossem Erlebnis kein grosses Werk kommt, so ist man im Unklaren ueber die Eigenart des grossen Werkes. Nur das Gedicht entsteht oft unmittelbar. Jedes wahre Kunstwerk ist erst eine spaetere Wiedergeburt des Erlebnisses aus dem erinnernden Geist. Wir werden noch soviel bedeutende Dramen und Romane aus der Emigration in den naechsten zehn Jahren entstehen sehen, dass unsere Seele nach etwas an-

91 The German Renaissance painter Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543) lived for many years in Basel, and died in London. The writer Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904) had Irish-Greek roots; born in Greece and brought up in England, he lived from 1890 on in Japan, where he died.

derem schreien wird. Vorlaeufig also muessen wir den erhaltenden Wert der Kunst und nicht den schoepferischen hier in Shanghai einschaetzen und das in gerechter Weise tun. Theater und Musik haben einen ausserordentlichen Anteil daran. Das ganze Strassenbild, Architektur, Innenarchitektur, Schaufenster danken der Emigrantenarbeit unendlich viel. Die Begabungen haben sich gesammelt und gestrafft und sind mehr als je den Aufgaben gewachsen, die ihnen eine vom Frieden gesegnete Zukunft bringen kann. Mit diesen Aufgaben werden sie wieder wachsen und weiterkommen.

Das Ende der Emigration bedeutet gerade fuer alle schoepferischen Kraefte einen neuen Wiederbeginn, einen neuen Anfang. Wir alle warten und hoffen auf ihn.

Chapter 8
End of the War and New Decisions

Introduction

World War II ended in China when Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945. However, less than one month earlier a final catastrophe occurred in Hongkou, where most of the refugees lived. The densely populated area became the target of American bombers on July 17. First was heard the deafening noise of air raid sirens, then the air was filled with the terrifying drone of bombers. "We could hear them rather than see them as the clouds were so low that day," write Ora and Harold Janklowicz, "Then all hell broke loose as bombs started to rain down on Hongkou …"[1] Many people were killed and wounded that day – refugees, Chinese, and Japanese – and numerous buildings were destroyed. Was Hongkou bombed by design or accident? Most accounts claim that the target was the Japanese radio station which the Japanese had decided to locate in that area, considering it safe from American attacks. It was also suggested that the Shanghai resistance had told the Americans the radio station's location was actually the agency which managed the movement of Japanese ships in order to break the allied blockade of Shanghai.[2]

Notwithstanding the recent catastrophe, the end of the war was greeted with much jubilation. The time of suffering and hardships was at last over. A new life would begin. Not much thought was given to what this new life would be like. But soon enough reality began to assert itself. The old organizational structures, the hated committees, and the men in power could not be dismissed at once. Soup kitchens had to continue to function, people had to be fed, salaries had to be paid. The greatest problems were caused by the growing inflation and the unstable rates of exchange of foreign currency. Although apparently funds for refugee maintenance continued to arrive from Switzerland, the extent of the inflation made it nearly impossible to calculate expenses. How much money was available at any given time was similarly difficult to know.

A new order had to be created gradually, and one of the first acts was to restore freedom of movement to the Hongkou inhabitants (Document 169). The Designated Area was officially opened August 23, 1945. At about this time

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1 Janklowicz, Riding, 44.

2 Deman, Ein verlorenes Jahrzehnt, 379 (see Document 40).

Manuel Siegel, the JDC worker, reappeared from internment camp. Until the arrival of Charles H. Jordan[3] as director of Joint Far Eastern Activities in Shanghai Siegel provided much needed guidance, and his report to the New York office gives a valuable description of Shanghai conditions at the time.

Considering the treatment meted out to the refugees by organizations such as the Kitchen Fund and SACRA and by the often sadistic conduct of Ghoya Kanoh, it is gratifying to realize that major acts of revenge were apparently not considered by the refugees. As far as can be ascertained none of the chief culprits was charged as a war criminal and Ghoya suffered no more than a sound thrashing when he wandered into Hongkou, his former domain.[4]

Toward the end of 1945 two unexpected events threatened the refugee community. First, the Nationalist Government promulgated a law to take effect January 1, 1946, that all foreign firms not registered abroad, but doing business abroad, must register as Chinese firms. Moreover, all firms registered under Chinese law must have a Chinese chairman.[5]

The second announcement made public in December 1945 was far more disturbing. According to it, all German and Austrian refugees were to be repatriated. Temporary exemptions might be granted, but those wanting to remain must make application to that effect and would be granted to technicians upon submitting guarantees. The refugees were appalled. To be lumped together with Shanghai Nazis and other such persons was incredible after having been expelled from their homelands. Although by March 1946 certain changes were made in the law, a bitter aftertaste remained and, no doubt, led many additional refugees to decide to leave China for elsewhere. But where to? Their dilemma was succinctly summarized by the German phrase "Weiterwandern oder Zurückwandern?" Most refugees coming to Shanghai had considered it a temporary solution to certain incarceration and persecution. Others saw it as a means of gaining release from concentration camps. But as the years went by the temporary sojourn turned into settled existence. To

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3 Jordan (1908–1967) began working for the AJJDC in 1941, initially as Director for the Caribbean Area. In 1945 he became Director of JDC Far Eastern Activities. In Shanghai he supervised the relief program and immigration assistance for some 15 000 refugees until he was sent to Paris in 1948, where he was head of the Emigration Department. He became AJJDC Director General for Overseas Operations in 1955, and was appointed Executive Vice-Chairman of the AJJDC in 1965.

4 Cf. Anonymous, Ghoya in Hongkew verprügelt, in: Shanghai Echo 1,30 (January 29, 1946), 4.

5 Cf. Anonmyous, Was wird werden? Gesellschaften unterliegen chinesischem Recht. Die Nachrichten der Handelskammer. C. E. Chamber of Commerce and Industry Shanghai, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt 45 (November 2, 1945), 5.

be sure, the Japanese conquest and the brutal conduct of the Japanese army changed all this, but now the war was over and Shanghai was again the cosmopolitan metropolis they had learned to appreciate. Starting all over again in a strange country among strangers held few attractions, especially for the older generation. Many would not have hesitated to go to the United States, but like before World War II the gates of that country did not readily open.

Returning to their country of origin was not an option for the Polish refugees, though it was considered by many Austrians and some Germans.[6] The latter were not aware of the extent of the devastation in Germany, but even so, not many chose that option, preferring to go to countries like Canada or Australia. The case of the Austrians was entirely different. Despite the fact that they were hardly welcomed by Austria's population, many chose to return, and the first transports of returnees left as early as December 1946 and January 1947.[7]

The communist armies did not march into Shanghai until May 24, 1949, but civil war between the Nationalist and Communist forces had been waged for all practical purposes already for three to four years. Little of it was felt in Shanghai. Warfare was far away, north of the Yangzi, yet awareness of impending conflict was present. No doubt knowledge of what armed conflict might mean for Shanghai's population strongly influenced the desire of the refugees to depart for more peaceful shores. Hence when by the end of 1948 all of North China was in Communist hands, it was clearly just a question of time before Mao Zedong's armies would cross the Yangzi into South China on their way to the important port cities, including Shanghai. The headline in the *Aufbau* of November 19, 1948, "Save the Shanghai Refugees," was, therefore, not an exaggeration.

It would be several more years after all those who wanted to leave were able to depart. With their departure a chapter of Jewish exile came to an end. It was brief, but it was noteworthy for revealing its strength of spirit and human endurance in the face of adversity. Even if nearly forgotten by historians, it lives on in memory and in art.[8]

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6 That a return to Germany also presented emotional problems is beautifully captured in an open letter by Thomas Mann reprinted from the *Aufbau* and published in Shanghai, cf. Thomas Mann, Warum ich nicht nach Deutschland zurückgehe, in: Shanghai Echo 1,21 (January 20, 1946), 3 f.

7 Gabriele Anderl, Der Weg Zurück, in: Zwischenwelt 18, 2 (August 2001), 47–53, here 49.

8 I must mention here an unpublished play by William Sun (Professor for classical Chinese Drama, Shanghai Theatre Academy), "North Bank Suzhou Creek," performed in Shanghai and New York in 2012.

Document 163

Theodor Friedrichs[9]
1963
Typewritten memoir, Geschichte unserer Auswanderung aus Deutschland, 321 pages (excerpts, pp. 127 f.).
YVA, Wiener Library Collection, 02 776

[…] Der 17. Juli [1945] war ein diesiger Tag mit bewoelktem Himmel. Um die Mittagszeit machte ich einen Krankenbesuch in der Wayside, dicht am Broadway. Als ich herunterkam, war Hochalarm gegeben worden, den ich ueberhoert hatte. Wir durften den Hausflur nicht verlassen. Ploetzlich hoerten wir das Summen von Flugzeugmotoren ueber den Wolken und dann das ohrenbetaeubende Krachen der Bomben, sodass ich als alter Soldat sofort instinktiv den Mund aufsperrte, um keine Beschaedigung meines Trommelfells zu erleiden. Die Bomben mussten dicht bei uns eingeschlagen haben. Es krachte noch einige Male, aber in groesserer Entfernung. Ich dachte noch im Stillen, was fuer ein Glueck es waere, dass die Bomben so weit von meinem Hause niedergegangen seien, denn das Getoese waere nichts fuer meine Ilse gewesen. Als ich aber dann den Hauseingang verlassen durfte und in die Chusan Road einbog, erfasste mich eine Unruhe, und ich ging immer rascher, bis ich schliesslich fast lief. Ploetzlich sah ich Gert auf seinem Fahrrad an mir vorbeirasen. Ich rief ihn an, er hoerte mich aber nicht. Inh [sic] ging also weiter. Da kam Gert schon wieder zurueck, sah mich und sprang vom Rad. Er sah totenblass aus und stiess die Worte hervor: „Papa, Du musst schnell nach Hause, bei uns in der Lane sind Bomben niedergegangen. Es hat Verletzte und Tote gegeben. Auch unser Haus ist schwer beschaedigt. Mutti ist unverletzt, aber die Oma hat eine leichte Verletzung. Nimm mein Rad, damit

9 Friedrichs (1894–1980) was a gynecologist from Berlin who fled to Shanghai in 1939. There he edited the *Shanghai Medical Journal* (1942–1943) and the *Journal of the Association of Central European Doctors – Mitteilungen der Vereinigung der Emigranten-Ärzte* from 1942. In 1947 he immigrated to the United States. In 1963 he finished a memoir in German; for an English translation by his son Frederick Rolf, cf. Theodor Friedrichs/Frederick Rolf, Berlin, Shanghai, New York. My Family's Flight from Hitler, Nashville Tenn. 2007. The digitized German memoir is available on the website of the LBI memoir collection, <http://digital.cjh.org/R/D9F7D286MS12G89S-4BT32811QPFJYP7A4AVSBQAQ8Q64FL5ITS-00313?func=dbin-jump-full&object%5Fid=779572&local%5Fbase=GEN01&pds_handle=GUEST> (September 13, 2017).

Du schneller hinkommst." Ich hatte 10 Jahre auf keinem Fahrrad gesessen, aber nach wenigen Metern war die anfaengliche Unsicherheit geschwunden, ich konnte wieder fahren und radelte so schnell als moeglich durch die menschenleeren Strassen.

Als ich in die Yuhang Road einbog, stiess ich auf die ersten zerstoerten Haeuser, und da war ich auch schon an unserer Lane. Ich sprang vom Rade. In dem Augenblick kam ein Japaner in Uniform, nahm mir das Rad fort und fuhr damit los. Ich blickte verbluefft hinter ihm her, aber machen konnte ich nichts, denn erstens haette ich mich nicht mit ihm verstaendigen koennen und gegen einen Japaner haette ich sowieso nichts ausrichten koennen. (Gert fand das Rad spaeter in unserer Strasse an eine Mauer gelehnt). Und nun begann ich ueber Truemmer in die Lane einzudringen. Das herrliche, von Japanern bewohnte Haus am Eingang der Lane war zu einem erheblichen Teil zerstoert, aber der dahinterliegende, von Emigranten bewohnte Block von 4 Haeusern war ein Truemmerhaufen. Ueberall Blutlachen, und von ueberall her riefen Verwundete um Hilfe. Aber erst musste ich sehen, wie es bei mir zu Hause aussah. Zuerst erblickte ich Ilse, die mir, blass wie der Tod, entgegenschwankte. Sie hatte einen Nervenschock erlitten. Ich ging mit ihr in das Haus hinein, um nach der Oma zu sehen. Sie lief herum, trotz einer gluecklicherweise leichten Verletzung am linken Oberschenkel.

|128| Nun gab ich Dr. Kneucker,[10] den Gert schon vor mir getroffen und in unsere Lane geschickt hatte, Spritzen und das so dringend benoetigte Morphium. Er hatte schon ziemliche Arbeit vor meiner Ankunft geleistet, aber fuer die Schwerverletzten fehlte ihm das Morphium. Nun versorgte ich zuerst meine Schwiegermutter und dann begab ich mich zu den verwundeten Lanebewohnern. Zum Erzaehlen war jetzt keine Zeit. Die Schwerstverwundeten waren bereits abtransportiert worden, aber es gab noch genug fuer mich zu tun. Groessere und kleinere Verletzungen die Menge [sic]. Ich erkannte die Wenigsten wieder. Sie waren alle von grauem Staub bedeckt. Die Gesichter waren grau und die Haare hatten die gleiche Farbe angenommen, sodass selbst junge Maedchen wie alte Frauen aussahen. Uebrigens arbeitete ich eintraechtig mit Dr. Stern zusammen. Fuer persoenliche Differenzen war jetzt ebensowenig Zeit wie fuers Essen, auch verspuerte keiner Hunger; immer noch weitere Verletzte und Tote wurden aus den eingestuerzten Haeusern ausgegraben, zuletzt freilich nur noch Tote. Dieser Tag hatte fuer die kleine

10 Alfred Kneucker (1904–1960) left his hometown of Vienna in 1938 for exile in Sweden and England. He was offered work in a Quaker hospital in China, and eventually reached Shanghai. In 1947 he settled in the United States; cf. his memoir, Felix Gamillscheg (ed.), Alfred W. Kneucker – Zuflucht in Shanghai. Aus den Erlebnissen eines österreichischen Arztes in der Emigration 1938–1945, Vienna 1984.

Lane, die wir bewohnten, ein Facit von 5 Toten [sic] Emigranten und etwa 25–30 Verwundeten. Gluecklicherwise [sic] war die Hauptarbeit mit Einbruch der Daemmerung getan, denn die Bomben hatten ausser dem sonstigen Schaden auch saemtliche Telefon- und Lichtkabel zerrissen, sodass wir auf kleine Kerzen zur Beleuchtung angewiesen waren.

Nun erst war Zeit zu fragen und zu hoeren, was sich waehrend meiner Abwesenheit abgespielt hatte. Ilse hatte einige Tage das Bett gehuetet, da sie sich eine leichte Nierenbeckenentzuendung zugezogen hatte. Zu den Mahlzeiten war sie die letzten Tage schon heruntergekommen, hatte sonst aber noch viel gelegen. An diesem Tage lag sie oben im Schlafzimmer auf der Couch, als der Hochalarm gegeben wurde. Ploetzlich hatte sie den Wunsch, das Badezimmer aufzusuchen, ohne dass eigentlich eine Veranlassung dazu vorlag. Kaum hatte sie den Raum betreten, da schlug die erste Bombe in die Lane ein. Das Haus bebte in allen Fugen, und klirrend gingen die meisten Glasscheiben zu Bruch. Ilse wollte sich in die Kueche stuerzen, um rasch mit ihrer Mutter, die dort taetig war, das Freie zu gewinnen, da fiel ihr ploetzlich ein, dass ich ihr einmal den Rat gegeben hatten: „Wenn ein Haus in Gefahr ist einzustuerzen und man kann nicht mehr rechtzeitig hinaus, dann soll man sich in einen Tuerrahmen stellen, weil die Holzkonstruktion einen erheblichen Druck vertraegt und nicht so leicht einstuerzt." Also blieb sie wie angenagelt im Tuerrahmen stehen, und das war ihr Glueck, denn im gleichen Augenblick fiel die zweite Bombe in eine japanische Weberei hinter unserem Hause, und hinter Ilse kam das Dach des Badezimmers herunter und vor ihr stuerzte ein Teil des Kuechendachs ein. Ihr selbst geschah nichts.

Meine Schwiegermutter befand sich in der Kueche, das war der Raum, der nach der allgemeinen Anschauung hier als am meisten gesichert galt, da er sich unter dem zementierten Dachgarten befand. Ein Bombensplitter aber fuhr von der Seite her durch das Dach des Badezimmers (das nachtraeglich angebaut war), ging durch das Kuechenfenster hindurch und riss ein grosses Loch in den Zementfussboden der Kueche. Dann sprang er hoch und verletzte die Oma am Oberschenkel. Haette sie einen Viertel meter [sic] naeher am Fenster gestanden, waere ihr das ganze Bein abgerissen wurden [sic].

Gert war bei seinem Freunde Herbert Fabian in der Lane auf dem Dachgarten ihres Hauses, als Hochalarm gegeben wurde. Gert war Offiziert [sic] bei der Pao Chia, einer Selbsthilfe-Organisation unter japanischer Oberhoheit. Als die Flugzeuge sich naeherten, witterte er Unheil und stuerzte die Treppe hinunter nach Hause. Gerade als er unsere Haustuer aufschliessen wollte, krachte die erste Bombe in das Haus hinein, das er soeben verlassen hatte, und unsere Haustuer flog von allein auf. Gert, mit einem englischen Stahlhelm auf dem Kopf, stuerzte in unser Wohnzimmer und kroch unter den massiven Esszimmertisch, keine Sekunde zu frueh, denn im naechsten

Augenblick schlug die zweite Bombe ein, ein Splitter durchschlug unser Dach […].

Document 164

Rose Shoshana Kahan[11]
1949
Printed diary, R. Shoshana Kahan, In fayer un flamen. Togbukh fun a yidishe shoyshpilern [In Fire and Flames. Diary of a Jewish Actress]. Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun poylishe yidn in Argentine, 1949, 406 pages (excerpts, pp. 337f.).[12]
Yiddish; translation by Irene Eber

17. יולי [1945]

דער טאָג וועט ווי אַ טרויער־טאָג באצייכנט ווערן פאַר אונדז פּליטים אין שאַנכיי. אַ סך יידישע קרבנות האָט אונדז געקאָסט דער היינטיקער אָנפלי אויף דער שטאָט. דער אָנפלי איז פאָרגעקומען אין האנקיו. מען האָט געוואָלט פאַרניכטן די יאפּאנישע ראַדיאָ־סטאַנציע און די מיליטעריש אַמוניציע־פאַבריקן. איך בין פונקט געווען אין שטאָט, צו מיטאָג ביי די טוקאַטשינסקיס. פּלוצלינג איז געוואָרן דער אָנפלי פון זייער אַ סך אַעראָפּלאנען. דער הימל איז ממש געווען באַדעקט מיט די פליענדיקע פייגל.

איך האָב נישט געקענט איינזיצן, איך בין געוואָרן שטאַרק אומרואיק צוליב לאַזאַרן, איך האָב טעלעפאָנירט צו קאָזאַקעוויטשן, אָבער נישט געקריגן קיין פאַרבינדונג. ווען עס האָט זיך אַביסל באַרואיקט, האָב איך ווידער טעלעפאָנירט קיין האנקיו צו קאָזאַקעוויטשן און דערהאַלטן אַ טרויעריקע נאַכריכט, אַז די באָמבאַרדירונג איז טאַקע פאָרגעקומען אויף האנקיו אין סאַמע מיט פון געטאָ. עס זענען דאָ זייער אַ סך קרבנות צווישן די יידישע פּליטים. הונדערטער כינעזער זענען פאַרשיט געוואָרן אין די חורבות און געהרגעט פון באָמבעס. איך בין אַן אויפגערעגט געלאָפן צום טראַמווי, עס איז נאָך געווען צו פרי, דער טראַמווי הייבט אָן גיין ערשט 4 נאָך מיטאָג. איך בין איינגעזעסן אין אַ ריקשע און געפאָרן. דער קולי, וואָס האָט געשלעפּט די ריקשע, האָט מיר דערציילט, אַז עס זענען פאַראַן אין האַנקיו טויזנטער קרבנות. ווען איך בין אָנגעקומען אין "באנד", האָב איך געטראָפן פאָרן די פייערלייט־וועגענער אָנגעלאָדן מיט פאַרוווונדעטע. איך האָב אויך באַגעגנט אויפן וועג אַ סך אויטאָס מיט מענטשן, וואָס זענען געלאָפן צו הילף. ווען איך האָב באַגעגנט אַ גרויסן לאַסט־אויטאָ מיט טויטע, האָט זיך מיין בלוט אין מיר געגליווערט. די אַרויסגעהאַנגענע הענט און פיס פון די מענטשן, וואָס האָבן ערשט געלעבט, האָט מיך דערמאַנט אין וואַרשע. דער גאַנצער וועג פון באנד ביז האַנקיו איז געווען אַ שרעקלעכער, מען האָט כסדר געפירט פאַרוווונדעטע. ווען איך בין צוגעקומען צו דער גרענעץ און אויסגעשטיגן פון דער רי־

11 About Kahan, see ch. 4, n. 202.

12 I thank Rabbi Marvin Tokayer for making this rare book available to me.

קשע, האָט קיינער |338| נישט קאָנטראָלירט מיין פּאַס, איך בין אַריין אין געטאָ און דערזען אונדזערע פּליטים מיט פאַרחושכטע פּנימער. מען האָט מיר אָנגעהויבן אויסרעכענען די פּוילישע קרבנות: דער בונדיסט קושניר טויט, זיין זון אויפן טויטן־בעט. דער ביאַליסטאָקער באָריס איגלאַ, טויט, צעריסן אויף שטיקער. פּרוי ווילנער, דעם טעאטער־דירעקטאָר דוד צעלמייסטערס טאָכטער, איז אויפן טויטן־בעט. הונדערטער אַנדערע פּליטים זענען שטאַרק פאַרוווונדעט. דער הויפּט־קאָמאַנדיר פון דער "פּאַ אָ טשאַ", דער דייטשער פּליט ד"ר באַ־דער, איז געשטאָרבן פון די ווונדן. איך האָב לענגער נישט געוואָלט הערן, איך האָב גע־וואָלט לויפן אַהיים זען, וואָס מאַכט לאַזאַר. אין שטוב האָבן מיר ביידע זיך צעווויינט, עס האָט זיך אַרויסגעוויזן, אַז ער איז פונקט געווען אין קיך צו מיטאָג און דער אויפרייס איז פאָרגעקומען ביי דער קיך, וווּ עס געפינט זיך די ראַדיאָ־סטאַציע. דאָס "סקרא"־הויז, וווּ עס ווויינען בלויז פּליטים און וואָס עס געפינט זיך אויך ביי דער ראַדיאָ־סטאַציע, איז אינגאַנצן חרוב געוואָרן און אַלע זענען פאַרוווונדעט און אָן אַ דאַך איבערן קאָפּ. אַ גאַנצן פאַרנאַכט האָט מען געפירט פאַרוווונדעטע. האָט דאָס געטאָ געהאַט אַ בלוטיקן טאָג. דער 17טער יולי. די דאַטע וועט אייביק בלייבן ביי אונדז אין זכרון.

Translation

July 17 [1945]

This day will be designated a mourning day by us Shanghai refugees. Today's attack on the city led to many Jewish sacrifices. The attack hit Hongkew. They wanted to destroy the Japanese radio station and the military ammunition factory. I was at Tukaczynski's in the city exactly at noon. All of sudden, an attack started by many planes. The sky was virtually hidden by escaping birds.

I was restless and became very worried because of Lazar.[13] I telephoned Kosakiewicz, but there was no connection. When it became a bit quieter, I telephoned Kosakiewicz again in Hongkew and got sad news: the bombarding had taken place exactly in Hongkew, everywhere in the ghetto. There were many victims among the Jewish refugees. Hundreds of Chinese died in the débris or were killed by bombs. Very agitated I ran to the tram stop, but it was too early, the tram starts to operate only after 4 p.m. I mounted a rickshaw and drove. The coolie who dragged the rickshaw told me that there were thousands of victims in Hongkew. When I arrived at the "Bund,"[14] I ran into the fire engines piled high with the wounded. I also saw on the road many cars with people on the way to help. When I saw a large truck with the dead, my blood turned to jelly. Hanging hands and feet of the people who had lived a moment ago reminded me of Warsaw. The whole way from the Bund

13 Her husband Lazar Kahan.

14 The avenue along the Whangpoo.

until Hongkew was terrible. Wounded people would be carried away orderly. When I came to the border and left the rickshaw, no one |338| would check my pass. I entered the ghetto and saw the darkened faces of our refugees. They began to give me an account of the Polish sacrifices: the Bundist[15] Kushnir dead, his son on the deathbed. Boris Igla from Białystok dead, torn into pieces. Mrs. Wilner, the daughter of the theater director David Tselmeister, is on her deathbed. Hundreds of Jewish refugees are heavily wounded. The chief officer of the Pao Chia, the German refugee Dr. Bader, died of his injuries. I didn't want to hear more, I wanted to run home to see how Lazar was. In our room, we both cried. It turned out that he had arrived punctually at noon at the [soup] kitchen when the explosion occurred next to the kitchen where the radio station was. The "SACRA"-house, where only refugees lived and which is also next to the radio station is completely destroyed. Everybody is injured and without a roof over his head. All night long the injured were carried away. The ghetto had a bloody day. July 17. This date will remain in our memory forever.

Document 165

Ernst Pollak[16]
July 27, 1945
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 6, no. 29, 1 f.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.9

Der Herr hat gegeben, der Herr hat genommen …

Die Erfahrung hat uns gelehrt, dass Menschen, die in einer Zwangsgemeinschaft zusammenleben müssen, bald von einer Psychose ergriffen werden, welche es mit sich bringt, dass an Stelle der gegenseitigen Zuneigung und gegenseitiger Achtung Gefühle ganz entgegengesetzter Natur treten. Solche Zwangsgemeinschaften lernte man kennen in der Kriegsgefangenschaft, im Konzentrationslager und leider auch im Distriktsleben der Emigration. Erfreulicherweise hat es sich aber auch gezeigt, dass in Stunden besonderer Freude oder besonderen Leides aus diesen Zwangsgemeinschaften eine Not-

15 A member of the Zionist Labor Association, Bund.
16 About Pollak, see ch. 4, n. 126.

gemeinschaft wird, die fester zusammengekittet ist, als jede andere menschliche Koallition [sic].

Ganz deutlich hat sich diese Tatsache am 17. Juli erwiesen, als um die Mittagsstunde unverhofft und plötzlich das Luftalarmsignal ertönte. Während die meisten Menschen um diese Zeit ihr Mittagbrot zu sich nahmen, erfuhr man bald, dass der diesmalige Luftangriff sich in ein tragisches Geschick für die Emigration und für einen Grossteil der im Distrikt lebenden einheimischen Einwohnerschaft verwandelt habe. Wenige Minuten nach Eintritt des Unglücks sah man Jung und Alt, Männer und Knaben, Frauen und Mädchen, oft unter Hintansetzung der eigenen Sicherheit auf die Strassen strömen, um Leben und Eigentum ihrer Mitmenschen zu retten, Verwundeten zu helfen, Tote zu bergen. Die Ehrenstunde der nationalen Zusammengehörigkeit der jüdischen Emigration war gekommen. Man kannte nur eines: jüdisches Pflichtgefühl und jüdische Solidarität. Uebermenschliches wurde geleistet. Es gab keine Rassen und es gab keine Religionsunterschiede. Auf der Fahne der Emigration stand ein einziges Wort: Menschlichkeit.

In erster Linie sei bei einem Rückblick auf diesen Tag der Chewra Kadischa[17] gedacht, deren Gesamtvorstand sich an der Bergung der Toten und Verwundeten in aufopferndster und pietätvollster Weise beteiligte, die rituelle Aufbahrung und Bestattung der auf so schreckliche Weise ums Leben Gekommenen besorgte und sich bemühte, den verzweifelten Angehörigen den ersten Trost zu spenden. Man brachte die Toten in die Zeremonienhalle des Chaoufoong Heimes, wo die Chewra Kadischa ihren Liebesdienst versah und wo auch die Behörden am Sarge des verblichenen Officer in charge der Foreign Pao Chia Dr. Kardegg, der inmitten der anderen Gefallenen aufgebahrt war, in längerem ehrenvollem Gedenken verweilten.

Aber auch die Jüdische Gemeinde, deren Räumlichkeiten mitten an der Unglücksstelle lagen und die selbst auf das Schwerste durch das tragische Geschick betroffen wurde, hat ein Zeugnis dafür abgelegt, dass die jüdische Kehilla und deren Vorstand jedes Leid gemeinsam zu tragen gewillt sind. An beiden Tagen der feierlichen Beisetzung der Opfer des 17. Juli waren der Gesamtvorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde, das Rabbinat und die Gemeinschaft jüdischer Kantoren, welch letztere in dem Opfertod des Kantor Aschendorff[18]

17 Promoted by Lutz Wachsner, the Chevra Kadisha for Immigrants was founded in 1940. Its executive committee included Friedrich Glückstern (first chairman), Josef Schäfer (chairman from January 1941 on), and from 1943 on, Sigmund Fischel, Leo Meyerheim, and Leopold Löbenstein; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 58.

18 Jacob Aschendorff (1906–1945), a singer and cantor from Norden (East Frisia), reached Shanghai with his wife Elisa (see ch. 4, n. 127) in December 1939. He became a member of the Association of Jewish Precentors in 1939, and served as precentor in

ihren ersten Verlust aus eigenen Reihen zu beklagen hatte, am Friedhof vollzählig vertreten. Für die Gemeinde sprachen Abschiedsworte an die Toten und Worte des Trostes an die Hinterbliebenen mit der Versicherung der Hilfsbereitschaft die Vorstände Lutz Wachsner und Max Brandt.

Aber auch der „Joint" und der Kitchen Fund hatten in diesen Tagen Ungeheures zu leisten und in wenigen Stunden ein Hilfswerk zu organisieren, welches Vorbildlichstes vollbrachte. Unter Leitung von Gustav Hirsch entsandte der K. F.[19] seinen gesamten Ordnungsdienst, der selbst den Verlust eines Kameraden beklagte. Der Joint wieder veranlasste, dass zur Ueberbrückung der grössten Not der Geschädigten, denselben eine Spende übergeben wurde und sorgte ferner in Gemeinschaft mit dem K. F. für Unterkunft und Verpflegung.

In kürzester Zeit hatte die Pao Chia und die „A.R.P."[20] alle ihre Unterabteilungen wie Sanitätstrupp, Feuerlöschtrupp etc. mobilisiert, |2| die in aufopferndster Weise ihre Plicht erfüllten. Das Lied des braven Mannes wäre aber mehr als unvollständig, würde nicht auch der ungeheuren Leistungen der gesamten Emigrantenärzteschaft, des Pflegepersonals, der Ambulanzen und des Hospitals gedenken [sic].

„Der Herr hat gegeben, der Herr hat genommen …"[21] In tiefer Ehrfurcht beugen wir uns vor den Opfern des „fliegenden Todes". In Demut aber beugen wir uns vor der Allmacht Gottes, die bestimmt hat, wer an diesem Tage am Leben bleibt. Den Aengstlichen und Furchtsamen aber rufen wir zu: Verzaget nicht und Fürchtet nicht. Euer Leben liegt in Gottes Hand … „Der Name des Ewigen sei gepriesen."
Ernst Pollak

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the various shelters, and also appeared on-stage as a singer; cf. ibid., 58; Sophie Fetthauer, Jacob Aschendorff, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00006941> (November 11, 2016).

19 Kitchen Fund.

20 Air Raid Protection.

21 Job 1:21.

Document 166

Horst Levin[22]
September 12, 1945
Typewritten draft (radio broadcast?), 3 pages; the pages contain several deletions of letters or words made by typewriter (not reproduced here); a few corrections and deletions have been inserted by hand.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/43

Abstract
Levin begins his draft with a recapitulation of how life has been for the refugees up to August 1945. There were all sorts of rumors that people did not believe. They observe the Japanese efforts to build defenses for the city. With the arrival of the American army, the time of oppression and the Designated Area has come to an end, and the promise of a new life of peace and security is on the horizon.

Kriegsende im „Distrikt fuer staatenlose Fluechtlinge" in Shanghai
Horst Levin

Ein gluehendheisser Augusttag ist zur Neige gegangen. Mensch und Tier lechzen nach ein wenig Kuehlung. Schlimmer noch als die grosse Hitze jedoch ist der ueberaus grosse Feuchtigkeitsgehalt der Luft, der auf den Lungen wie ein Alpdruck lastet und Kleider, Schuhe und Waesche in Schrank und Koffern schimmeln und modern laesst. Ventilatoren, air condition in grossen luftigen Raeumen, Gruenanlagen, ein Bad, eisgekuehlte drinks, das sind Wunschtraeume versunkener Welten fuer fuenfzehntausend stateless refugees, eingesperrt in den [sic] ihnen zugewiesenen Distrikt. Die einzige Erholung fuer die meisten von ihnen besteht darin, dass sie am Abend sich auf ihren Stuehlchen vor die Hauseingaenge oder auf die Lanes setzen, um dort den ermatteten Koerper dem kuehlen Abendwind auszusetzen. An schlafen ist in den kleinen, kaum zu lueftenden Raeumen nicht zu denken. Moskitos, Wanzen und anderes Ungeziefer machen sich als ungebetene Gaeste breit und tun ein Uebriges, um dem mueden Koerper die ersehnte Nachtruhe zu rauben. Es herrscht ein empfindlicher Wassermangel, so dass man sich in den meisten Haeusern kaum einmal am Tag ordentlich waschen und brausen kann. Elektrizitaet ist rationiert, schaerfste Verdunkelung von Sonnenuntergang bis Sonnenaufgang, kurz, der totale Krieg hat auch Shanghai erreicht

22 About Levin, see ch. 2, n. 6.

und fordert von den im Distrikt lebenden Menschen seinen Tribut. ~~Die Lokale sind schwach besucht, d~~{.} {D}ie Restaurantgaerten muessen wegen der Verdunkelungsbestimmungen bei Sonnenuntergang schliessen, die wenigen Gruenanlagen bleiben dem Zutritt der stateless refugees versperrt. Die Lokale sind nur schwach besucht, denn es ist auch hier keine Erholung zu finden, zeitig muessen die Fenster geschlossen werden, kleine blakende Oellaempchen verbreiten ein truebes Licht und werfen gespenstische Schatten an die Waende, nur hin und wieder werden einige Worte gewechselt, die alten Vorkriegsausgaben der amerikanischen Magazine hat man schon dutzendmale durchblaettert, fuer laengere Debatten ist man zu muede, und wozu auch, man hat die lastenden Probleme immer und immer wieder durchgekaut, es gibt kaum etwas Neues, und wenn, dann ist es entweder nichts Gutes, oder es stellt sich nach einiger Zeit als „Bonke“ heraus. Der Existenzkampf ist bei den Hindernisse{n}, die den stateless refugees von den Japanern in den Weg gelegt werden, ueberaus schwer. Es sin{d} sehr sehr wenige, die sich ihre Existenzen, die sie mit soviel Muehe und Fleiss aufgebaut hatten, trotz der Distriktsproklamation haben erhalten koennen. Nur wenige sind es, die auf dem black market gut verdienen, die von dem Warenmangel ihren Profit ziehen, oder die mit dem von den Behoerden streng verbotenen Devisenhandel ihr living machen. Die ueberwiegende Masse lebt vom {„}Kitchenfond{“}, der Hilfsorganisation des Joint und den mageren Tagesverdiensten als Vertreter oder Broker.

So schleppt sich das Leben dieser Menschen von einem Tag zum andern, ohne Aussicht auf eine Aenderung der Lage in absehbarer Zeit. So daemmern diese Menschen in den Abend- und Nachtstunden einem neuen Tage entgegen. Dazu kommt noch die dauernde Furcht, dass ploetzlich wieder die Alarmsirenen die Nacht zu durchheulen beginnen; an Luftangriffe hatte man sich in den letzten Monaten gewoehnt und in der Hoffnung gewiegt, dass die Amerikaner den Distrikt genau kannten und ihn schonen wuerden. In dieser Hoffnung hatten sich allerdings auch die Japaner gewiegt und Munitionslaeger [sic] und eine Funkstation in den Distrikt gelegt. Am 17. Juli hatte sich dies als truegerisch erwiesen. An diesem Tag forderte ein schwerer Angriff auf die Funkstation und andere miltaerische [sic] Anlagen etwa 30 Tote und mehrere Hundert Verletzte, als eine Anzahl von Bomben auf die Wohngegenden innerhalb des Distrikts niedergingen. Was dieser und die folgenden Tage fuer die von den Leiden und Strapazen der vorangegangenen Jahre entnervten Menschen bedeutete, ist kaum zu beschreiben.

[|2|] Jeder Tag brachte neuerliche Angriffe auf die Stadt, gluecklicherweise blieb der Distrikt verschont, jedoch hielt die Panikstimmung unter der Bevoelkerung weiter an, gab es doch keine ausreichenden Luftschutzraeume. Der einzige kompakte Bau innerhalb des Distrikts das staedtische Gefaeng-

nis,[23] uebrigens eines der groessten der Welt, oeffnete bei Luftalarm seine Tore, um der Bevoelkerung Schutz in den unteren Etagen zu gewaehren. So konnte man in jenen Tagen schon in den fruehen Morgenstunden hunderte ~~und tausende~~ von Weissen und Chinesen vor den Toren des Gefaengnisses warten sehen, um eingelassen zu werden. So gingen die Juli- und Augustwochen unter dauernder hoechster Nervenanspannung vorueber, kaum kann man noch an eine Aenderung dieses Zustandes zum Besseren glauben, eher macht man sich auf noch Schlimmeres gefasst. Geruechte von bevorstehenden Landungen amerikanischer und chinesischer Truppen in der Naehe der Stadt werden verbreitet, und man sieht, wie sich die Japaner auf eine zaehe Verteidigung der Stadt vorbereiten. Saemtliche Hochhaeuser sind evakuiert und in veritable Festungen verwandelt, Munition und Brennstoff werden an zahlreichen Stellen eingelagert und allenthalben werden Sandsackbarrikaden aufgetuermt, es deutet alles auf kommende Ereignisse hin, die man sich nicht auszumalen wagt.

So verlaufen die Tage und Naechte, so schien auch diese Nacht zu verlaufen, Spaziergaenger kommen nach Hause, man tauscht letzte Neuigkeiten aus, man beraet den Speisezettel fuer den naechsten Tag, kurz ein Abend wie viele andere … da, ploetzlich, niemand kann sagen wieso und woher{,} kommt Unruhe in die Menschen, erst ist es ein aufgeregtes Tuscheln und Fluestern von einigen, es kommen Neugierige dazu, es bilden sich ueberall Ansammlungen, es belebt sich immer mehr, man hoert Freudenrufe und Gespraechsfetzen durch das allgemeine Gesumme … „ich hab' es aus erster Quelle, es stimmt wirklich …" „ich war dabei, als Herr X. aus der Stadt angerufen worden ist …" „in der Stadt ist alles auf den Beinen …" „Waffenstillstand … Frieden … Befreiung …" Immer groesser wird die Aufregung, man versucht Genaueres durch Telefongespraeche mit der Stadt zu erfahren, Berichte von Freudenfeiern in der Stadt laufen ein, noch mahnen Besonnene und Vorsichtige zur Ruhe, denn japanische Patroullien [sic] durchstreifen wie ueblich die Strassen, aber die aufquellende Freude laesst sich nicht mehr unterdruecken, wie ein elementarer Vulkanausbruch, alles ueberstroemend und sich Bahn brechend, bricht es aus den Menschen hervor, die solange aufgestaute Nervenanspannung muss sich abreagieren, sie liegen sich in den Armen, sie jubeln, sie {w}einen vor Freude, die Chinesen, erst verstaendnislos zuschauend, machen auf ihre Weise ihrer Freude Luft … das Unwahrscheinliche soll nun doch, kurz vor der letzten Katastrophe noch wahr geworden sein? Kein Krieg mehr, keine Bombenangriffe, kein Distrikt, Wiedersehen mit den Lieben in aller Welt? Das alles kann das Gehirn auf einmal {kaum} fassen, es ist zu viel, was da so ploetzlich und unerwartet auf diese Menschen ein-

23 This was the Ward Road Gaol.

stuermt, die seit Jahren nur an schlechte Nachrichten gewohnt waren. Ueberall finden improvisierte Freudenfeiern statt, vergessen sind Bombenangriffe und unertraegliche Hitze, vergessen Krankheiten und andere Uebel, aus den Fenstern schallt zu mitternaechtlicher Stunde Musik und Gesang, man hoert die Hatikwa, man sing{t} „God bless America", „There will always be an England"[24]… ja es ist Tatsache geworden, die Japaner haben um Waffenstillstand nachgesucht. Es gibt in dieser Nacht kaum Jemanden im Distrikt, der schlafen geht. Von Strasse zu Strasse, von Lane zu Lane ziehen jubelnde, lachende Menschen, von neuer Hoffnung beseelt. Eine Gruppe ganz Uebermuetiger zieht die Grenze des Distrikts entlang und reisst die Fronschilder [sic] herunter, auf denen geschrieben steht, dass hier kein stateless refugee passieren darf, ohne die besondere Erlaubnis des stateless refugee office zu besitzen. Die Schilder werden als Trophaenn [sic] herumgefuehrt, die japanischen Streifen sind von den Strassen verschwunden, es gibt keinen Zweifel mehr, der Krieg ist vorueber.

|3| Langsam daemmert der neue Tag herauf. Ueberall sieht man freudenstrahlende Gesichter, immer wieder laesst einen der blosse Gedanke „Friede in der Welt" aufjubeln, jeder Chinese freut sich „Japanese finish, no more bum-bum". Man hoert, dass die japanischen Beamten nicht auf der Polizeistation zum Dienst erschienen sind, dass saemtliche Bekanntmachungen vom schwarzen Brett des stateless refugee office abgerissen worden sind, man wartet begierig auf die ersten Radiomeldungen, die die offizielle Bestaetigung bringen sollen. Niemand denkt daran, seiner gewohnten Beschaeftigung nachzugehen, es gibt so viel zu diskutieren, und niemnand [sic] will die kommenden Ereignisse versaeumen. Die Zeit der ersten Radiomeldungen ist da, aber nur die „ueblichen" Erfolge der Japaner zur See, zu Lande und in der Luft werden verlautbart, so und soviel feindliche Bomber ueber Japan abgeschossen, Vorruecken der japanischen Truppen auf dem Festland{,} und so weiter, nichts von all dem, was man erwartet hat; es gibt lange Gesichter, aber man vertroestet einander auf die Mittagsmeldungen, denn diesmal muss es wahr sein, es sit [sic] ja nicht denkbar, dass auch dies eine Bonke sein soll, je-

24 The Hebrew poem *Tikvateinu* (Our Hope), written in 1877/1886 by Naphtali Herz Imber and set to music by Samuel Cohen in 1895, became a favorite folk song among the Jewish pioneers in Palestine. Under the title *Ha-Tikvah* (The Hope) it was declared the official Zionist anthem at the eighteenth Zionist Congress in Prague in 1933, and in 1948 it became the official anthem of the state of Israel. God Bless America is a patriotic American song Irving Berlin wrote in 1918 and reworked in 1938. There'll Always Be An England is a patriotic English song written and composed by Ross Parker and Hughie Charles. It became especially popular after the outbreak of World War II.

der Chinese weiss davon, Japaner gehen mit gesenkten Gesichtern umher, der USA-Dollar steigt zu ungeahnten Hoehen, es muss stimmen … und doch, ploetzlich schlaegt die Stimmung um, man erfaehrt, dass Polizeistation und Refugee Office wieder von den Japanern besetzt worden sind, man erfaehrt, das [sic] der Chef des Office, Mr. Kubota, eine Verordnung erlassen habe, in der es heisst, die japanischen Behoerden haetten mit tiefer Enttaeuschung das Verhalten der Emigranten beobachtet, all das {„}Gute und Nuetzliche{"}, was in den letzten Wochen waehrend der schweren Angriffe von den refugees geleistet worden sei{,} und die Anerkennung und Sympathie der japanischen Behoerden hervorgerufen habe, sei durch dies boeswillige Verhalten zunichte gemacht worden. Sofort in Kraft tretende Verschaerfungen der Bestimmungen ueber das Verlassen des Distrikts haetten sie sich selbst zuzuschreiben. Neue Erlaubnisse zum Verlassen des Distrikts wuerden nciht [sic] mehr erteilt, Verlaengerungen laufe{n}der Paesse wuerden nciht [sic] mehr vorgenommen, eine neuerliche scharfe Kontrolle aller laufenden Paesse wuerde sofort beginnen, man habe das wahre Gesicht der stateless refugees jetzt erkannt und werde die noetigen Massnahmen zu treffen wissen. Das wirkte wie eine kalte Dusche auf viele Gemueter. Aber bald setzte sich der allgemeine Optimismus wieder durch, als bekannt wurde, dass der schweizer und der schwedische Konsul offizielle Bekanntmachungen ueber den tatsaechlichen Stand der Dinge verlautbart haetten. Die Verhandlungen zum Waffenstillstand seien eingeleitet worden, die Japaner wollen die Waffen strecken, es koenne sich nur noch um einige Tage handeln, bis die Lage geklaert sei und bis auch die Friedensglocken im Pazifik laeuten wuerden …

So vergingen die Tage im Rausch. Der Distrikt ist geoeffnet worden, die Grenzen dieses Getthos [sic] unserer Zeit sind gefallen, der Geist der Tyrannei und Unterdrueckung ist auch im Pazifik gebannt. Die amerikanischen Truppen sind, jubelnd begruesst, hier eingetroffen. Eine Mission ist im Distrikt gewesen und hat den Refugees die Gruesse einer freien Welt ueberbracht, mit dem Versprechen, dass man ihnen helfen wolle, dass man sie, die mit am laengsten und schwersten gelitten haben, nicht vergessen habe. Neue Hoffnung ist in die Seelen eingezogen, neue Kraefte regen sich, um noch einmal zu beginnen, ein Leben in Sicherheit und Frieden aufzubauen.
{12. IX. 45.
H. Levin}

Document 167

Jocundus[25]
September 7, 1945
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 133, 3 f.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

How Refugees Took It. A Diary Record

August 10th. At about 10.30 p.m. a madwoman, with distorted features and dishevelled hair, tore down the deserted streets of my neighborhood, shouting at the top of her voice: "The war is over! The war is over!" Some people sitting in front of their houses to catch what little breeze there was after an oppressing day, heard her and laughed. Then they recognized her. She was Mrs. B., a well-behaved, quiet woman.

"What's the matter?" – "It is true, believe me! I have it on the best authority. It is all over the town. It is over!" Others joined the group, debating, doubting, confirming. "Don't be silly! Another of those confounded roumours [sic]! It is not true! – "Yes it is, this time it is! People in French Town, in Chusan Road, are already celebrating!" – "Beware of rumours!" – "Be careful, keep quiet!" – "From the Chechoslovakian Club[26] they telephoned to the Swiss Consulate and had it confirmed. It is true!"[27]

Awake, ye sleepers to listen to the voice of good will and peace on earth! If you are religious, get down on your knees to thank your Creator! Saved in the nick of time! Rescued in the last hour, when all portents pointed to a desperate end! No more bombs, no more nights sleepless from war! And no more restrictions, no more discrimination. Free, free at last!

It is true, this time. You feel it in your bones. It cannot be untrue. People could not stand the disappointment!

And then, there is a magic quality in the words "War" and "Peace." Cleverer people than myself have observed it.

They are like a conjurer's formula that, once pronounced, cannot be retracted at will. So fraught are they with tremendous consequences that, once

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25 The identity of "Jocundus" is unclear; he wrote at least two more articles for *Our Life* in August 1945.

26 Also called the Czech Club.

27 Photo below the last line: a standing man in a coat, the caption reads, "Mr. Ghoya, the self-named 'King of the Jews', is seen admiring the Poster 'Stateless Refugees are not Allowed to Pass'…"

they have been officially uttered, however conditionally, they tend with elementary force to become realities.

Crowds gathering everywhere. Practically nobody stays at home, can stay at home. Discussing, shouting, howling. Songs are springing up, German, Jiddish [sic], Polish, Russian. Sights experienced once or twice in a lifetime repeating themselves: complete strangers congratulating, embracing each other. Spontaneous celebrations held in private homes, in the streets, wherever some little alcohol tucked away for this very purpose comes to light. All comers are free to join in, all barriers have fallen, every house, every block of houses is one family.

We have been severely censored for this night's "disorderly conduct" by critics both within and without. But considering the overwhelming significance of the news, its tremendous impact on nerves already strained to breaking point, the sudden relaxation after 5 years of unbearable tension, I dare you to show me a crowd of any race or nationality that would have done less.

There have been, I am sorry to admit, some cases of the crowd taking the law in their own hands. Some persons having gathered upon themselves more than an ordinary portion of public dislike, have been roughly handled. But it went in no case beyond a sound trashing and in most cases the people concerned did not get more than what was coming to them.

And, oh yes, the signboards marking the borders have disappeared in the course of this night. So what? Were not these signs really the symbol of all that was hateful to us, of discrimination and restriction and oppression?

August 11th. Early morning. Impossible to catch two winks of sleep. No sooner have you tried to lie down than another acquaintance comes up to take you for discussion and celebration. So better make the best of it and go for an early survey of the streets.

8 A.M. Around Wayside Police Station crowds are gathering, especially noticeable are some O.D. Men and Betari,[28] both in uniform, deep in talk wih [sic] Russian Policemen. And then the most phantastic story J [sic] heard in years flares up: the refugees have seized the Wayside Police Station!

The Charge room presents an unforgettable sight. No Japanese or foreign Police Officer is present. On one side of the huge desk an O.D. Man, and on the other a Betari, are deeply crouched in the chairs with their feet on the desk. Behind, some Chinese policemen observe the scene. Not a word is being spoken.

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28 "Ordnungs-Dienst," a kind of police. A Betari is a member of Betar.

I had to run over to French Town to attend to some business. But the amazing news had preceded me. Wherever I went I was greeted with the words: "The refugees have taken over Wayside Station?"[29]

And here is the authentic story of this mad occurrence: early in the morning the rumor had spread that all Japanese officers had left the Station. So some energetic measure seemed indicated. Both the named organisations felt the urge to "take over." They did it in the way pictured above.

At about 10.30 the Japanese officers came in for duty. Very politely they thanked the Blues and the Browns for their readiness to assist them, pointing out, however, that they were quite sure they could nicely manage for themselves. So the intruders retreated in good order and the "seizure" of the Wayside Station was at an end.

An operetta turn? Yes, but one that, but for the really sensible and conciliatory attitude of the Japanese officers, could have taken a very nasty aspect. Just stop to think what it means, in the midst of a military occupied zone, to try to take possession of a little thing like a police station!

The Betar have at least the benefit of their youth. But how about the O.D. (Ordnungs-Dienst or Camp Police)? Are they not the famous "order service," strictly disciplined and under a unified command who, so it was whispered, are really here to protect in the case of an emergency and who, for this very reason, have been lately increased beyond all reasonable proportion? Who gave them the orders to be a party to this dangerous game? And if they acted without orders, why were they not called to account? Or were they?

But this occurrence goes to show something else, namely, what a dangerous thing all these paramilitary bodies are for their own people. Wearing something like a uniform unfortunately always results in giving their members a quite unwarranted feeling of their own importance. We, middle-European Jews should have known better, having suffered so much from like formations. But unfortunately, we don't know a bad thing when it springs up in our own ranks. There have been much too many to derive a tremendous kick from wearing uniforms, and if not uniforms, garments as uniform-like as possible, and if that too was unattainable, sporting at least chevrons and armlets and titles borrowed from military organisations. May be this occurrence will open some people's eyes as to where these things are leading up.

1. P.M. At my return, the picture has completely changed. No more crowds, nor shouting. The District has regained its normal aspect and traffic

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29 Photo below the last line: six people standing in front of a desk, behind which a man is sitting. The caption reads, "A familiar scene in Mr. Ghoya's Office with refugees lined up for 'Special Passes'."

has shifted from Muirhead Road to near-by Chusan Road where other incidents than "seizures" are being dealt with.

August 12th. If commotion in the streets has subsided, another danger has suddenly cropped up, – a complete collapse of currency. Yesterday most and to day nearly all shops were closed and boarded up, and for a time it looked as if dealers refused to sell against C.R.B. Dollars. Cigarettes have disappeared, sugar soared to as much as 200,000,– a lb. For 1 US$, any rate from 200,000 to 500,000,– was quoted, but with no sellers.
|4| Rumours are going around that the armistice has already been signed and that American parachute troops are expected any moment. But the radio goes on giving war news. Mr. Osano of the Japanese Police appealed to the senior Foreign Pao Chia officers to get their people for the duty. The officers refused, claiming to have no authority over their men.

Late in the evening a radio broad cast came through to the effect that Pao Chia duty had to continue as usual. Since nobody reported for duty, the "Joint" finally hired some people to do the job.

August 13th. The currency chaos has been suddenly and mysteriously brought to a halt. The U.S.$ was quoted at about 160,000,–, sugar dropped to 50,000 and less. Shops are being reopened, cigarettes are again in evidence, at double price. In the radio, head-quarter reports as usual. People are getting uneasy, and talks about a hitch in the negotiations are going around.

Mr. Kubota held a gathering of senior Pao Chia officers, with Mr. Ghoya acting as an interpreter. He gave them a severe dressing down. While favourably impressed on July 17th when bombs were dropped in the area, and being a genuine friend of the Jewish people, he has been sorely disappointed by our behavior. "You have dropped the mask and we have seen your true face. You were mistaken. You have been listening to rumours. The war is going on. Pao Chia has to carry on, under severe penalty."

August 14th. Japanese Gendarmery [sic] parties are patrolling the streets and stopping all refugees for passes examination. At certain places, they even make them line up in the glaring sun for half an hour and more. Control measures have been considerably tightened. What does this sudden display of authority mean?

August 15th. The end. The Imperial rescript and other proclamations. Strange how different popular reaction in [sic] now from what it was on the 10th. To-day, hardly a loud word is to be heard. Just quiet congratulating and handshaking. Maybe it is just as well that people have spent their explosive energy five days ago!

And how about the District? Why, no change whatsoever? I should have liked so much to have this piece headlined: "The last days of the District." But I can't for the new Chinese police chief, Mr. Szu, has already declared. "The

regulations pertaiting [sic] to the District have not been cancelled and are to be strictly obeyed."

Well, well. War or no war, orders is orders and District is District. But for how long yet?
Joc.

Document 168

Lieselotte Markus[30]
August 3, 1945
Printed letter to the editor and poem, in: Our Life, no. 202, 2.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

The Voice of Youth

The Editor of "Our Life"
Dear Sir,

Ever since reading the article in "Our Life" in which you regret that so few of the Hongkew youth voice their opinions in public, I wished to reply. Current events and their reactions in most circles caused me to write the lines enclosed, which I herewith submit in the hope of impartial criticism and perhaps, of seeing them published. Thanking you in advance for your trouble and awaiting a speedy reply,
I remain
Yours, sincerely,
Lieselotte Mirkus[31] (19 years old)

I shall not triumph at my en'my's fall
Rejoicing that his plans did not succeed,
But render thanks to Him who has decreed
What has been and shall be for one and all.

I bow to the inevitable fate
That placed me on the side appearing cursed,

30 Markus (1926–?) is included in the List of Foreigners as a "teacher" (her first name is spelled Liselotte).
31 Obviously a typo for Markus.

How easily positions are reversed –
Hunted turned hound! I strive to tolerate.

Those causing suff'ring that increased my faith.
My wish is to deserve destiny's choice:
Generous loyalty shall be a voice
Proclaiming widely the Almighty's praise.

Document 169

Anonymous
August 22, 1945
Typewritten announcement, 1 page. This is a copy of the original announcement delivered by the Japanese authorities.
Microfilm; YIVO, RG 243, Shanghai collection, folder 11

NOTICE

The notification concerning Special Passes, enforced on August 10, 1943, that "stateless refugees" are prohibited to leave the "designated area" without Special Passes, is hereby withdrawn as from August 23, 1945.

However, it is pointed out, that the proclamation issued by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai area, dated February 18, 1943, is still in force.
Shanghai, August 22, 1945

BEKANNTMACHUNG

Die am 10. August 1943 in Kraft gesetzte Verordnung, dass „Stateless Refugees" den Distrikt ohne Special Paesse nicht verlassen duerfen, ist hierdurch mit Wirkung vom 23. August 1945 aufgehoben.

Es wird jedoch darauf hingewiesen, dass die Proklamation, herausgegeben von den Commanders-in-Chief of the Japanese Army and Navy in the Shanghai area, datiert vom 18. Februar 1943, noch in Kraft ist.
Shanghai, den 22. August 1945

Document 170

Philipp Kohn[32]
August 31, 1945
Newspaper article, in: Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt, vol. 6, no. 34, 4.
Microfilm; YIVO, Y–2003, 1854.9

1933 Und neues Leben blueht … 1941–45

Zwölf Jahre Nazi-Herrschaft, fast sieben Jahre Shanghaier Immigration, sechs Jahre europäischer Krieg, und last not least zwei Jahre Ghetto … dies alles ist nun plötzlich zu Ende. Tag um Tag sandten wir den Wunsch zum Allmächtigen, dass er uns von all den Schreckensdingen erlösen möge. Nun wurden wir von einem Tag zum anderen wieder Menschen, durften wieder freie Menschen sein. Kein Dank ist gross genug hierfür, und niemals wurden Dankgebete inniger und inbrünstiger zu Gott gesandt.

Besonders richten wir jedoch nun unsere Blicke zu den Mächten, die Gott uns als Retter und Befreier gesandt hat. Ihnen gilt nicht nur unser herzlichster Gruss, sondern vor allen Dingen unser persönlicher, tiefempfundener Dank.

Schweren Herzens mussten wir jahrelang manches Wort unter dem Druck der Verhältnisse unausgesprochen lassen, umsomehr wollen wir nun wieder von der Freiheit des Wortes Gebrauch machen, um dadurch mitzuhelfen an der Gestaltung unserer Zukunft. Hierbei dürfte es jedoch vor allen Dingen notwendig sein, diejenigen Persönlichkeiten aus unserer Mitte auszuschliessen, die sich als Hintermänner, Vordermänner oder Einflüsterer, wie man sie bezeichnen will, den japanischen Behörden mehr als notwendig zur Verfügung stellten und halfen, das Los unserer Schicksalsgenossen noch ärger zu gestalten. Sie warfen uns vor, fremden Götzen gedient zu haben, während sie jetzt selbst auf ihre neuerliche Rettung durch die „fremden Götzen" warten mussten. Mit diesem Argument der „Alliiertenfreundlichkeit" gelang ja auch der erste Vorstoss in die Reihen der Immigration, indem man von den

32 Kohn (c. 1886–?) edited the *8-Uhr Abendblatt* (from 1940–1941), the *Shanghai Herald* (1941), the *Jüdische Nachrichten* (1940–1945), and its successor *The Jewish Voice of the Far East* (1945–1946). These papers were published by his own publishing house, the Werbe-Verlag, which he founded shortly after his arrival in Shanghai in 1940. In October 1946 the Werbe-Verlag was closed down by the Chinese authorities; cf. Seywald, Journalisten, 311, 317. Kohn left for New York, where he edited *The Jewish Voice. Mitteilungsblatt der Gemeinschaft ehemaliger Shanghaier* in 1949, which only released one issue; cf. Maas, Handbuch, vol. 1, 324.

Repräsentanten der Jüdischen Gemeinde einige, den Hintermännern unerwünschte Personen hinauskomplimentierte, bis es dann später gelang den gesamten Vorstand an die Luft zu setzen. Sie halfen dann bei der Einsetzung der Kommissare, die vorher jüdischen Gemeindedingen völlig unbewandert und interesselos gegenüber standen. Als diese sich nicht mehr allein zu helfen wussten und ihre einzige Erhaltungsmöglichkeit in der Hinzuziehung von Männern aus der Wirtschaft sahen, haben sich die Drahtzieher der Besatzungsbehörden erdreistet, tadellose Männer aus dem Wirtschaftsleben, die sich im allgemeinen Interesse buchstäblich opferten, als nicht einwandfrei zu bezeichnen. Eine Wahl brachte uns einen neuen Gemeindevorstand, wobei es diesen unverbesserlichen Gesellen dennoch gelang, einige ihnen unbequeme, aber gewählte Männer im letzten Moment doch wieder auszubooten.

Jedenfalls können wir feststellen, dass der augenblickliche Vorstand der Jüdischen Gemeinde, der ja seit längerer Zeit bei den Behörden die einzig anerkannte Vertretung der Immigration ist, alles Menschenmögliche getan hat, um den an ihn gestellten Anforderungen gerecht zu werden, wofür ihm aufrichtiger Dank ausgesprochen werden muss. Da er aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach in Anbetracht der neu entstandenen Lage – und nach Ablauf seiner einjährigen Amtsperiode – sicher seinen Rücktritt anbieten wird, dürfte ja nun der geeignete Moment gekommen sein, zum ersten Male eine öffentliche Wahl auszuschreiben, in der der gesamten jüdischen Immigration Gelegenheit gegeben werden dürfte, die Männer an die Spitze der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu berufen, die das Vertrauen und die Sympathie der Allgemeinheit besitzen.[33]

Unser Wunsch geht jedenfalls dahin, weiterhin den Bestrebungen unserer jüdischen Immigration zu dienen, befreit von all den Schlacken der Unehrlichkeit, Gewissenlosigkeit und Selbstsucht. Wir sind wieder freie Menschen geworden: haben wir daher auch den Mut, uns von den Menschen zu befreien, die ihre Vorteile daraus gezogen haben, als man uns immer stärkere Fesseln anlegte. Und wenn sie dann immer noch versuchten, uns Honig um den Mund zu schmieren, so wollen wir sie unschädlich machen.
Philipp Kohn

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33 The democratic election called for in this document indeed took place: "Shortly after the end of the war a new representative body was elected by democratic vote, and from it, the present officiating committee chosen;" cf. Lewin, Almanac, 55. The newly elected committee consisted of seven members who were in charge of the community departments of welfare (Mr. Brandt), education (Dr. Ernst Brande), finances (Leo Meyerheim), press (Sally Hopp), arbitrary court (Bruno Prager), culture (Hopp, Karl Redisch), and cemetery (Redisch). The president was Siegmund Fischel, the vice president Redisch; Dr. Schäfer was a member without portfolio.

Document 171

Manuel Siegel[34] *(JDC) to Moses A. Leavitt (AJJDC)*[35]
August 26, 1945
Typewritten letter, 9 pages.
Microfilm; YVA, JM 11.728, reel 16

Abstract
Siegel's report deals with an estimate of Shanghai refugee life at present, and includes information on the period of the Japanese occupation and the work of the various committees during the war. Among these the Shanghai JDC and the Kitchen Fund were held in particularly low esteem by the refugees due to their infighting, bickering, and poor output. At the time of writing, Siegel believes that the repatriation of the refugees and the dire state of their financial situation will pose significant problems.

M. Siegel

c/o P.O. Box 2104
Shanghai
Shanghai, August 26th, 1945
To the
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
100 East 42nd Street
New York City

Attention Mr. Leavitt

Dear Mr. Leavitt,

Allow me to express my 3 cheers, a thousand Hurras and a Million thanks to the great United Nation for bringing this war to an end and concluding the misery of interned life in Pootung.[36]

Although I am not officially released as yet, I am in fact out of camp and ready to get on with the work of Joint.

Personally I feel fine and fit. 2½ years of interned life have left me with no permanent disabilities (except to face a plate of stew and rice). During the years I did manage to contract malaria, dysentery and chillblains [sic], but not

34 About Siegel, see ch. 3, n. 115.
35 About Leavitt, see ch. 3, n. 23.
36 Pinyin Pudong, a Shanghai quarter on the east bank of the Whangpoo river.

severely; and life in an unsanitary, unheated ware-house under a leaky roof, plenty of bugs, 85 men living in a room, where one lined up for everything, from water, to meals, to wash, and even to toilet, did have a few redeeming compensations such as good companions sharing unique experiences.

I managed to hold a miscellaneous group of jobs during camp life. These varied from organising the kitchen and the distribution of food when we first arrived in camp. Later on I served a one-term of office (elected) as American adviser (number 2 position among the Americans in camp). In this capacity I assisted in the administration of the camp. I also held such jobs as pot-washer, butcher, dining-room-cleaner, a.s.f. and not least I had my own garden and raised vegetables and flowers.

I guess you can see how I kept sane in camp under difficult conditions; but I ask you and will let you decide – was this what I was sent to China for?

I would like to break away from the personal and humorous and write to you concerning the impersonal and very serious problems of Shanghai Refugee life.

A. The General Picture of Shanghai Refugee Life.

Several days ago I left camp AWOL[37] because I believed the affairs of the refugees warranted such a step. After a preliminary and cursory examination of the problems here I believe the step that I took was justified, as the problems are tremendous complicated and need quick attention.

Refugee life in Shanghai has almost reached a point where most of the traits that distinguish men from mammals of a lower stage of development have been almost obliterated. Selfishness, suspicion, personal enemities [sic] and hostility characterise the whole mentality of the refugee community.

I have begun to see various people and note that they are very few who have kind words for one another, either on a personal or a business level; that organisations have developed to represent cliques to fight one another and to advance the interest of one as against the other. Co-operation is almost unknown. Almost all individuals accuse each other of all sorts of dishonourable things such as dealing with the enemy, stealing funds, mismanagement, a.s.f. It is a sad commentary, but all too true.

|2| In order to understand this I believe it is necessary to keep in mind the milieu of Shanghai. Shanghai is a paradise for foreign adventurers, where almost everyone is interested in building a fortune out of nothing, where morals in a business sense or a social sense are all but forgotten, a city where Chinese have practiced the custom of squeeze (graft) even ### than the best

37 Absent without leave.

of Tammany Hall[38] – a city occupied in war conditions by the enemy that had to be bought on every score in order to allow business to continue.

Now, if you add to the above, the plight of the refugees being chased out of Europe with little or nothing, living in Shanghai until December 8th 1941, under strange conditions, that approximated the level of the coolie class and treated by employees of the local Committee as if they were coolies – war breaking out, then really going hungry even with the most that could be done for them at that time.

Then chased into a most crowded area and segregated from the rest of city life, and those who had begun to stand on their own feet, robbed of their income and most of their fixed possessions, such as their homes and places of business – treated by the Japanese officials callously in some instances, brutally and barbaric in other instances, exposed to the dangers of bombing without adequate protection and to suffer as a consequence of this the death of 30 odd members, wounded 250 odd and made homeless 700 odd people, living on relief, uncertain to what the next day would bring – all these factors and many more will give you some idea of the reasons why the refugee live has reached this level it did.

B. Japanese Control of Segregation Area.

I believe it is important for you to have a picture of the Japanese manner of setting up the restricted area and how this problem was handled by them.

As Miss Margolis no doubt told you on February 18th, 1943 a proclamation by Commanders of the Imperial Japanese Army and Navy appeared in the papers, ordering all Stateless Refugees who arrived in Shanghai after January 1st, 1937 to move into a designated area of Hongkew in a 3 months' period. The refugees living outside of this area were ordered to close down their businesses and surrender to the Japanese Authorities their homes and business-premises, furniture, goods and personal belongings excluded.

The Ashkenazi Community was ordered to set up an organisation to assist the refugees in moving within this district and the Japanese Authorities expressed themselves to the effect that any non-co-operation with this would mean that the Ashkenazi Jews would also suffer consequences. Under such circumstances the Ashkenazi Community set up the S.A.C.R.A. Committee (Shanghai Ashkenazi Collaborating Relief Association) and helped the refugees in transferring to the restricted area.

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38 Actually the Tammany Society, a political lobbying organization established in New York in 1786 that had significant influence on New York City's politics until the 1960s.

Approximately 15,000 refugees were affected by this proclamation. Approximately half of the number were living outside of the restricted area, most of them in Hongkew, but several thousand in the French Concession or in the city proper. Naturally housing accommodations in this area were extremely limited and the prices demanded for these accommodations exhorbitant [sic].

The S.A.C.R.A. assisted these people in finding homes, in repairing dwellings and in rebuilding dwellings in order to accommodate these people. By the end of the time given for all refugees to be moved into the area, May 18th, 1943, 1500 refugees still remained outside of the area. The following arrangements were made by S.A.C.R.A.: 400 received extensions permitting them to reside outside for a 3 months' period, because of their professions, such as social workers, doctors, a.s.f., the remaining 1100 received allotment numbers from S.A.C.R.A. with permissions of the Japanese Authorities granting them permission to remain out until accommodations for them could be found, |3| without any stipulated time to move into the area. Gradually as these people with or without help of S.A.C.R.A. were able to find accommodations they moved into the district; by the end of March 1944, not more than 250 people were living outside of the designated area. These 250 included both those who were permitted to keep their businesses, practice their professions outside of the area, and those who were still out because accommodations could not be found.

In the autumn of 1943 the Japanese Authorities began to insist that the program of moving people into the area should be speeded up. At first threats were made in order to speed up the removing of the people. This was followed in March 1944 by the jailing of people for late removal for one day. In April this was extended to one week and longer. Approximately 30 suffered jail sentences. The jail used was a police-jail where Chinese beggars and criminals were detained. It was dirty and filthy beyond description and vermin infested. As a result approximately 12 people contracted typhus and 6 died. The remaining 100 refugees outside of the area in great alarm began to move into the area and practically all have done so. Approximately 50 were successful in remaining outside during the whole war period.

Those living in the district were permitted to leave the district for various reasons for periods of one day to 3 months. In order to leave the district the Japanese Authorities issued passes permitting them to leave. However, these passes stipulated where they were going to and the route they must take. They further stipulated the time allowed outside. The refugees were further compelled to wear badges in their lapels in order to distinguish them from non-refugees.

In order to get such passes it was necessary to make applications to the Japanese Authorities and the treatment of refugees by the Japanese Author-

ities when they went to receive passes was often brutal and barbaric. The Japanese office was directed by Mr. T. Kubota. Under Mr. Kubota served two Japanese officials by the name of Mr. K. Ghoya and Mr. Okura. Messrs. Ghoya and Okura were in charge of issuing passes: Both handled the refugees who applied for passes with great brutality expecially [sic] Mr. Ghoya, whose name in Shanghai has become as famous as Hamann[39] was in biblical days. The stories of the indignities that Mr. Ghoya subjected the refugees to indicate a sadism beyond description and compares with stories out of Nazi Germany.

Also an attempt was made by the Japanese Authorities to set up a Labour Office in order to put the refugees to work at Japanese War-Industries. However, the Committees which were approached to supply the names of those unemployed were always successful in postponing the delivery of such lists, and at no time did the Japanese succeed, in placing the refugees at any work.

The Japanese Authorities apart from segregating and issuing passes did very little-else to regulate the refugee-life in the district or to interfere with the refugees managing their own affairs. However, many individuals attempted to intrigue with the Japanese Authorities in order to promote their personal selfish interest. On numerous occasions individuals purporting to represent organisations also attempted to use the Japanese Authorities in order to promote their organisation as opposed to other organisations. Naturally much intrigues were set up because of this.

I believe that the non-interference on the part of Japanese was promoted by the fact that they were very anxious not to be saddled with the refugees' problem especially as it concerned supporting the large number on relief. The Authorities knew that too much interference would bring all |4| the problems including relief on to their shoulders and they were not prepared to accept this. Secondly various sources of income grew up for the Japanese Authorities, such as grafts for extensions and permits and favours a.s.f., which were essential for the Japanese Authorities, in order to live because their salaries were insufficient to meet the increasing cost of living. They knew that too much interference in refugees-affairs would dry up these sources of income.

There are numerous problems that remain as a result of the segregation of the refugees. First the problem of the return of premises seized by the Japanese Authorities, second making bills of particular against various officials who might be considered by the Allied Commission as war criminals, third, the return to normal life outside of the restricted area and setting up of their businesses. Up to date the restricted area has not yet been abolished and the

39 In the biblical book of Esther, Haman conspires to kill all the Jews in the Persian town of Shushan.

refugees are permitted to go and come at will. They have not been given permission to move out of the district on a permanent basis.

C. Committees and Committees Work.

In order to judge the work done by the various committees organised by the community it is necessary to set up a criterion to measure their work. I believe that under special circumstances existing here the only criterion of their work is to keep the people alive on the highest possible level until the war was finished and the Ghetto abolished. According to this standard it seems that the committees were successful. Figures on the birth and death rate indicate no great deterioration during the war years (figures will be supplied later). Further the refugees are living on a higher standard of relief than before (even though according to any decent standard it is still insufficient). However, the committees' work had many shortcomings. The chief shortcoming is that there is absolutely no acceptance of these organisations by the people who distrust them and act in a hostile manner towards them.

The committees are held in poor respect. All sorts of stories are current concerning the mismanagement, thefts, a.s.f. This is due in some measure to poor publicity as well as bickering and fighting among the Committees, of which the Community was aware and concluded that all committees had something wrong with them. To some extent poor management also played its part.

C 1. Shanghai Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

I am not sure whether Miss Margolis gave you an adequate picture of the situation here and the reasons that gave rise to our need to organise a local Joint Distribution Committee. In August 1943 the board Representative Committee which we formed to represent the Community and to deal with all refugee problems broke up. The call to the local refugee organisations brought forth in September 1942 a response resulting in setting up an organisation known as the Kitchen Fund. It was organised to raise money for "Patenschaften" on a local basis and to receive whatever moneys we could get from abroad or that could be raised on the Conditional Loans we issued at that time.

Prior to turning over all the assets at that time certain conditions were agreed upon jointly with the Kitchen Fund. Among these conditions were to keep in their employ at the posts they were then holding one executive and one sub-executive of our choosing and an auditor of our choosing. |5| Further that there would be a centralized management to be run from Hongkew and not in the city away from the refugees.

Almost before the ink was dry on the agreement with Kitchen Fund they broke all three conditions set up and began to run an organisation so only a

group of petty shop-keepers could. They had no conceptions of centralized management, each "honorary" worker taking for himself an area of work, running it independently so that total disorganisation resulted. Financial reports and audits were considered as purely routine and unimportant. Certain conditions were placed upon the central executive of our choosing. They made it impossible for him to continue working and he was forced to resign. Miss Margolis and I made numerous efforts to put a stop to this. However, we were met by a response that was almost insulting to us personally and professionally. We were told that unless we would stop meddling the Kitchen Fund would resign and we would be forced to take the whole problem over.

At that time we had neither funds nor were the prospects for receiving funds from abroad very bright. This group had certain financial support from the community and were able to support a thousand people financially. Miss Margolis and I were further concerned with taking over this problem again because internment and repatriation were both current in the gossip of Shanghai. We feared that it might overtake us before we had the opportunity to reorganise the Committee and develop a new Community support for it. Consequently in order to set up certain controls over the Kitchen Fund we decided to set up a local Joint Distribution Committee to raise and receive funds on Conditional Loans that could be raised in the city and to control as much as possible the expenditure of these funds by the Kitchen Fund.

This local Joint Committee consisted of Mr. Bitker, of the Ashkenazi Community, as a man in charge of financial affairs. Mr. Brahn, a man of long residents [sic] in China, who had excellent contact with the Japanese, and had proved helpful because of these contacts in our past experiences, Mr. Wachsner, representing the Juedische Gemeinde refugee group, Mr. Levenspiel, an engineer who had helped us no end in various constructions, especially our kitchen. He spent all his time in Hongkew supervising the running of the kitchen, and Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann as executives to do the work of the Committee.

Mr. Brahn was elected chairman of this group. Later Mr. Schifrin, another member of the Ashkenazi Community, joined this group to assist in the work, as well as Mr. Nothmann[40] a German of long standing in China, who was accepted as an adviser to the Committee.

The affairs of the Joint Committee were made extremely difficult by the presence of Mr. Brahn on the Committee. Mr. Brahn is an eccentric individualistic man who had little regard for the decisions of the group. He attempted

40 The German-Jewish business-man Erich Nothmann came to China in 1934 as a sales representative for the German iron enterprise Otto Wolff, cf. Leutner, Deutschland und China, 533.

to carry out the work of Joint in the most high handed fashion. His approach to people was to threaten and to abuse them in a language that was resented by all who came in contact with him. His behaviour in the Committee became most embarrassing to the Committee. Through his Japanese contacts there was constant intrigue against the Joint Committee and against all other Committees. Everybody feared Mr. Brahn because of his Japanese associations which were known to be powerful and Mr. Brahn threatened numerous people on many occasions with Bridge House, which corresponds to Nazi Gestapo detainment prisons. The Joint Committee also feared Mr. Brahn. At the same time it recognised that his continuing to be a member of the Committee lowered the whole Committee in the eyes of the Community. However, they feared to depose Mr. Brahn, although they had such authorisations from you as well as from me.

However, on August 8th, 1945 the situation became so threatening by Mr. Brahn that the Committee did ask him to resign and Mr. Brahn in fact did resign at that time.

|6| The other members of the Joint Committee worked extremely hard in setting up an organisation to receive funds, to exchange fund into local currency, to supply those organisations who needed assistance and to control the expenditure of funds. Mr. Bitker, Dr. Lang and Mr. Glueckmann deserve special praise in carrying out the task of the local Joint under extremely difficult circumstances. The problems here in the past years have been terrific changes in currency, dealing with other organisations, dealing with the Japanese Authorities and apologizing for and keeping the chairman, Mr. Brahn, in line, have been no easy matter. The unfortunate part of the work of the local Joint Committee is that it is so little appreciated by he refugees here.

I have already had numberous [sic] statements concerning the misappropriation of funds, the inefficiency of the members and disregard of the wishes of the refugees.

There were short-comings in the affairs of Joint. I believe that these generally are in a lack of any attempt to interpret what they were doing, why they were doing, and how they were doing to the refugees and secondly a lackadaisical policy of avoiding tackling any difficulties during the period of war, but rather awaiting the end of the war before tackling these problems.

C2. Kitchen Funds.

Kitchen Fund has continued in the manner that Miss Margolis and I analysed at that time it would. It is continued to run without centralisation. Since the scope of its work has increased from handling the problems of relief of one thousand people to over ten thousand it has mushroomed all over the place with the maximum of inefficiency and a minimum of direction. In the

place of a few so-called honorary workers there are new scores of them, each competing with each other. Some of them directly or indirectly are receiving money either from Kitchen Fund as relief or from Joint as a loan. Favoritism and paternalism and protection seemed to be the standard under which they practiced giving relief. Many people are on relief but do not need this help, because of poor investigations. This makes the amount available less for those who need relief. Purchases are made without supervision or checking. The kitchen is operated in an inefficient manner, whereby the cost of meals is far higher than independent restaurants. Its approach to people seams [sic] to be marked by narrow-mindedness and impudence. Its conceit is almost arrogant. Its staff has grown to an enormous size without a correspondent need.

The whole problem needs thorough re-organisation from top to bottom.

C3. Local Communal Organisations.

Both, the Ashkenazi and Sephardic Communal Associations have passed the burden of supporting their local relief problem to the Joint. With the Sephardic Community this is somewhat understandable as the fact remains that many of their rich members were either evacuated or interned. Although I must say that there still remained a number of rich Sephardim in Shanghai and that the resources of those in camp were such that if they wanted to help they might have been able to contribute.

In regard to the Ashkenazi Community that part of the people living on the salaries and working for foreign organisations was hard hit. On the other hand those members of the Ashkenazi Community who had financial means were almost entirely successful in increasing their riches. There should have been enough money in this Community not only to support their own local problem but also to help with the problem of the refugees. It is obvious that the time has come for immediate discontinuation of relief to the local Committees.

|7| It seems to me that for the time being there will be little financial support from the Shanghai Community for Refugees. As a matter of fact I believe that it will be extremely difficult to find people of good will ready to serve even in an advisory or interpretive capacity in the affairs of the refugee Community. This will be due to the post wartime conditions. Individuals are anxious to give their full time to establishing their businesses and secondly because they do not want to become involved in refugee matters because they are so complicated, difficult and often result in disagreeable experiences with refugees.

Only slowly on a basis of personal talks and interpretation can any Representative Committee to [sic] re-organised to accept the responsibility for the refugee problem in Shanghai and it will be necessary for Joint to have a representative here for, I believe, a long period of time.

D. Present problems of refugee life in Shanghai.

The present situation of refugee life in China is full of difficulties. Much will depend on good will of the Chinese Government. Naturally the refugees desire that their former status as refugees be forgotten. They wish to be treated on the basis of nationals with equal opportunity as other nationals are.

Already even before the Chinese Government has officially taken over possession of Shanghai there are some disquieting signs on the horizon. A German Jew has turned up bearing a paper authorising him in the name of the Chinese Military Authorities to take charge of the former refugee district. The people in Hongkew are startled and very anxious. They have already begun to fear new restrictions and new problems. Assistance will be necessary in order to help those who desire to make China their home to establish themselves on an independent basis. Most individuals have used up their total resources and will need some funds in order to make a new start in life.

D 2.[41] Repatriation and Emigration.

It is obvious that the problem of the refugees cannot wholly be solved in [sic] Shanghai nor in the Far East. There are too many refugees here to be assimilated into the economy of China or even the Far East.

Consequently other means will have to be found to solve the problem of the refugees in Shanghai. This will involve refugees leaving Shanghai. Questions on repatriation of the refugees respective homeland has been raised on all sides. Emigration to Palestine, America, Australia and Canada are also being raised. It is necessary to receive in Shanghai in the shortest possible time some information on a general and broad line in order to indicate to the people whether they can hope and plan for a solution of their problem outside of China. It further may be necessary to indicate as a good will gesture to the Chinese Government that the competent Refugee Authorities recognize that the refugee problems cannot be solved here wholly, and that steps will be taken to move a number out of China as soon as possible.

D 3. Committee Problems.

It seems to me that the work of the local Joints [sic] Committees at the present time has come to an end; that with an American Joint representative in the city, there will be no need for a local Joint Committee. Consequently, I think in a short period of time it will be necessary to disband the local Joint and then to tackle the problems of the Kitchen Fund.

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41 There is no paragraph D1.

|8| As I pointed out to you the Kitchen Fund will need to be re-organised from top to bottom. This obviously has to be done with a paid staff of refugees, chosen on a basis of competence and centralized through a single executive so that it can run efficiently. It will be further necessary to centralize buying under adequate supervision; to re-check the relief rolls by a staff that must be trained to handle the problems as social investigators.

It will further be necessary to place the refugees on a basis of cash relief and allow them to choose the place where they can purchase the meals and then run the kitchen at the basis of competition with other kitchens so that it will stand or fall on the cheapness and good quality of its food.

In tackling the above two problems it is necessary that authority be given to re-organise the work of all Committees receiving Joint funds. This authority is absolutely essential in case it must be used. Those individuals in charge of Kitchen Fund may be reluctant to give up their honorary positions. Such authority would be cabled as soon as possible.

Secondly in order to handle the problems connected with the Chinese Government and other official representatives in Shanghai it will be necessary to have credentials as the representative of Joint with definite powers to act in the interest of Joint. (I believe that credentials with seals and ribbons may be helpful especially in dealing with Chinese Authorities.) It will be obviously necessary that this be sent as soon as possible.

D4 Auditing.

It is obvious that the financial records of the local Joint Committee and the Kitchen Fund will have to be audited in a careful manner. This will be done as soon as possible.

[D5] Finance and Relief.

Since May 1st, 1944, when Joint funds have been received from abroad regularly by the local Committee, the standard of relief of the refugees under care of the local Committees has become better.

As the economic situation in the refugee area became increasingly difficult it was possible to help more people financially. By April 1945 the various Committee [sic] Joint was helping were serving approximately 11,000 people, by June 1945 it did increase to 12,000 people.

The local Joint committee received regularly 400,000,– Swiss Francs per month and the cost for [each] individual per day for all relief activities equal 1.10 Swiss Francs. From April until July 1945 the situation remained practically unchanged. The rates of exchange fluctuated somewhat and the cost of living followed very closely the rate of exchange.

In the month of July 1945 the exchange rates began to fluctuate very wildly. On July 1st 1.– Swiss Francs was equal to $ 8400.– CRB[42] local dollars and the exchange rate increased until by July 31st 1.– Swiss Francs equal 30,500.– CRB local dollars. This was an increase in the rate of exchange of almost four times. During that time the local prices and cost of living only doubled. As a result it was possible for the local Joint Committee to accumulate certain cash reserves and the quality of food was î##r##ed.[43]
|9| This situation continued to exist until August 10th, 1945, when the Swiss Francs reached the high level of 1.– Swiss Francs equal to 42,000.– CRB local dollars. Until this time the local Committee and as a result the refugees were in a most favourable situation. On August 11th, 1945, the situation began to reverse itself. The Swiss Francs was unquoted on the market for one week. It was impossible to convert the Swiss Francs into local currency on account of absence of buyers of Swiss Francs.

The local Committee is receiving relief per individual per diem of 1.10 Swiss Francs, however the cost of maintaining the same level of relief is equal to 2.30 Swiss Francs. Consequently, if things remain unchanged it would be necessary to receive 825,000.– Swiss Francs for September 1945 or approximately double the amount that is now being received. It is obvious to the local Committee that they cannot expect double the amount and certain economies are being carried through in order to meet this new situation; however, it will be most difficult to carry this through immediately without depressing the standard of relief too greatly.

It is important for you to note certain factors concerning the money situation existing at present in Shanghai. The Swiss Francs is in an under-valued position in the Shanghai market; for example: 1,– U.S. is quoted in Shanghai to-day at 95,000.– CRB local dollars: 1,– Swiss Francs is quoted on the Shanghai market at 16,500.– CRB local dollars; according to the fixed exchange the ratio of the Swiss Francs to the U.S. Dollar is 4.31. Consequently, if money is sent to us via Switzerland in the form of Swiss Francs, the local Committee only receives per U.S. Dollar, 71,000.– C.R.B. local dollars. This is a loss of approximately 1/3. Consequently it would be of utmost importance to be able to receive U.S. Dollars directly here as soon as possible. If this is done shortly, the situation of the local Committee will be helped immensely as [sic] no additional cost to the American Joint.

Every effort will be made to meet the needs of the refugee community on the same amount of money as has been received formerly. However, this may

42 Central Reserve Bank.
43 "Improved"?

be impossible if prices remain the same and the exchange remains as it is. It may be necessary to send an S.O.S. or additional funds.

E. Conclusion
These are the main problems. I have indicated that I believe is [sic] the road to follow in order to solve them. I don't know what your plans are for me. I am ready to roll up my sleeves and go to work here. It may be necessary to send an S.O.S. for personnel to help in all this work. So please keep this in mind. However, I shall not proceed to handle ### problems except to feel my way about until I received your confirmation that you desire me to stay and the necessary authorities and credentials to carry out the task.
{Manuel Siegel}

Document 172

Anonymous (Executive Committee of Polish War Refugees in Shanghai)[44]
September 21, 1945
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 205, 4.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Polish Refugees Demand Punishment
of Kubota, Okura, Ghoya, and Kano as Chief War Criminals in Shanghai

Celebrations of the regained freedom are in full swing in Shanghai. The populace of this city is enthusiastically sharing the happiness of the entire world which won victory over the dark forces of oppression, thus realizing the triumph of the idea of freedom and justice.

This general rejoicing is being shared, too, by about 1000 Polish War Refugees stranded in Shanghai, where they hoped to find a refuge for the duration of the war, after overcoming numerous dangers and hardships of the war in Poland, where they lost all their property.

However, their joy is overshadowed by the huge sacrifices they had to suffer in the present war with almost [the] entire Jewish population in Poland

44 The Polish Jews had founded a number of groups and associations that were active in social, political, and cultural issues. They elected a council, the "Polish War Refugees in Shanghai," to represent the various groups. The long-time head of the council's executive committee was Gerszel Apfelbaum; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 80.

being slaughtered by a cruel and degenerate invader, and with the graves of Polish soldiers scattered over battlefields of the two continents.

The enthusiasm of the Polish war Refugees is stifled by a feeling of bitterness, the uncertainty of the future and tremendous difficulties to be overcome at present. To enumerate only a few examples: there are among them people who fell victims [sic] to the bombing of Shanghai. Some of them lost members of their families, others have been rendered homeless and lost their last personal belongings. Besides, there are many problems awaiting solution.

Nevertheless, the community of the Polish War Refugees, as said before, express their long pent-up feelings in sharing the common joy. In the first place this is due to the regaining of their personal freedom from the moment the barriers of the Ghetto where they were interned by Japanese authorities in flagrant violation of international law and the threadbare pretext of military necessity were abolished. The Japanese press frankly called these measures anti-Jewish and they were doubtlessly the result of the seeds of Nazi hatred and discrimination sown in the fertile mentality of Japanese militarism.

It is to be emphasized on this occasion that the question as to how it came about that Polish citizens have been treated as stateless refugees is still to be clarified, but the fact is that they have been forced into the Ghetto notwithstanding their legal status as Allies and hence enemies of the Axis.

This fact is sufficiently ignominous [sic] had the manner in which they were treated by the Japanese, at that time masters of their lives, is revolting and requires retaliation and redemption.

The responsible Director of the Shanghai Stateless Refugees Affairs Bureau was Kubota, who in cold blood tolerated abuses, maltreatment and atrocities. His underling was Okura, whose sadizm [sic] is directly responsible for the loss of many lives as a result of typhoid-fever contracted in the beggar box of the Wayside Police Station, then commonly known as the "death cell." This description would be incomplete if another crimanal [sic], Goya [sic], were [sic] not – mentioned. He was the terror of the Ghetto, as there was not a single day without orgies of beating, kicking and insulting of old and young, men and women, perpetrated by him, even publicly.

The cruelty of this gang is seen from the fact that people were beaten by Goya or Okura till they fainted and then they were brought back to consciousness by pouring cold water on their heads after which they were beaten again. There were cases of people being kept in jail for 30 days on 6 ounces of bread a day.

The Polish War Refugees had to live under such conditions during two years – without any chance of protest.

It was not before the defeat of the Japanese occupants, that they were in a position to raise their protest and acquaint the public opinion of their sufferings and humiliation.

The Polish refeegees [sic] demand severe punishment of all those criminals who are to be charged responsible for all atrocities committed. First of all that applies to Kubota, Okura, Goya, Kano and their associates as well as to collaborators of non-Japanese nationalitty [sic], and all those who took advantage of the created situation for their personal benefit and profit.

The Polish War Refugees believe that their accusations will be heard by the United Nations War Crimes Commission[45] and that by due punishment of these criminal oppressors all the harm and injustice done to them during the war will be retributed [sic].

The Executive Committee of Polish War Refugees in Shanghai.

Document 173

Anonymous
December 28, 1945
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 211, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

A Bolt Out of the Blue

The report about the new regulations enacted by the Central Government regarding the Jewish refugees here came as a staggering surprise to the Shanghai public and caused consternation among those concerned, and in many non-refugee circles as well.

Rumours purporting that something was in the offing against the refugees had been rampant for some time and had been disbelieved on the reasoning that never the democratic minded and hospitable Chinese people,

45 The United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) was founded in October 1943 by the allied states in order to assemble evidence and prosecute war crimes commited by the Axis powers. It existed until spring 1948. China requested a sub-commission for Pacific Affairs to prosecute Japanese war criminals, and in 1946 the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) was organized. Its eleven member states held an International Military Tribunal for the Far East and carried out war crimes trials until 1951.

a people that until recently had itself been a victim of ruthless agression [sic], would consent to any measures discriminating against other victims of cruel persecution. But it seems to be official, and it is rather worse than anticipated.

The reports reached here in various slightly contradictory versions, until one paper was in a position to give the exact wording. The gist of the matter is that all Germans, former Austrians, and German Jews are scheduled for repatriation, and pending repatriation have to make application for a temporary stay backed by sufficient guarantees. Exceptions from the repatriation order can be granted, but only for reliable technicians on the strength of new applications and further guarantees. The notion of "Austrians" comprises naturally the Jews professing this nationality, so that the bulk of the refugees is being covered by the regulations.

So the incredible has happened. The same Jews who fled from German and Austrian persecution to these shores, who here again at the instigation of these same Nazis had been by the Japanese segrageted [sic], economically ruined and physically maltreated, find themselves now thrown together with their erstwhile persecutors into the same lot. The victimizers and the victimized, the robbers and the robbed are being meted out the same treatment.

Formally, the Central Government of course acts well within its rights. As a sovereign nation, China is fully entitled to declare any alien as undesirable and to have him removed from her territory, even without giving any reasons. But when not individuals, but an entire class of the population is hit by a measure of this kind, those concerned have in a democratic country certainly the right to ask why they have become undesirable.

There are, of course, any number of reasons for wishing an alien or a class of aliens to leave a country, but in the main they can be classed within three categories, viz. activities against law and order, racial and or religious grounds, and economic reasons. As to the first category, it is safe to say that the refugees as a class have done nothing in the nature of an unlawful behaviour, and as to the second we think that the Chinese Government would be first to reject emphatically the idea that it has been activated by racial or religious discrimination. So the only remaining factor seems to be the economic but here again we see ourselves at a loss to discover the reasoning.

Up to the Japanese segregation order the refugees proved definitely an asset in the economic life of this city. They introduced some new trades, resulting in different goods formerly imported to be locally produced and even exported. They set a new style in shop decorating and window dressing, and impartial observers agreed that the city had become a better looking place by the example given by them. In a surprisingly short time they were well on the road to becoming self-supporting.

After the ill-famed Japanese proclamation their situation quite naturally deteriorated and most of them had to fall back on relief. But even this state of affairs was, strange as it may sound, beneficial rather than detrimental to the host nation from a purely economic point of view. Circumstances in this respect are somewhat different here from what they are in Western countries. There the existence of a class of destitute people is really undesirable because they threaten to become a burden on the public treasury. But no refugee ever expected or is likely to expect to be supported by any source derived from the Chinese national income. What support they got came from abroad, bringing here an amount of one and a half to two million American dollars to be consumed locally, without taking out anything in return, an influx of foreign currency that should be welcome in the balance of payment of any country. This might be a trifling entry in the house-hold books of a big nation like China, but anyway it is on the credit and not on the debit side of the ledger.

And granting that this is a negligible asset and one that could be easily waived; there is another far more important asset that could be adversely affected by this decision. It is the reputation justly won by the Chinese people for being one of the most humanely thinking and equitable nations of the world. Hardly anything has been more clearly demonstrated by the war just terminated than the fact that moral values and the respect shown to the tenets of hunanity [sic] and hospitality count heavily in the balance of power, and we think that no nation is wealty [sic] or mighty enough to afford to give away anything of this moral capital handed down by their ancestors.

We should have failed in our duty as a Jewish paper by not raising our voice, albeit feeble, against this measure. It is naturally in the interest of the 15,000 refugees that we are speaking. But there are higher interests at stake than the fate of this handful of people. In the interest of these bigger principles involved we hope the Central Government will reconsider its decision.

Document 174

Anonymous
January 17, 1946
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo,[46] *vol. 1, no.18, 3.*
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Petition an das Ministerium des Aeusseren in China
Zur Verordnung vom 29. Dezember 1945

Die Delegierten der Organisationen der europaeischen Fluechtlinge in Shanghai haben an das chinesische Aussenministerium eine Petition gerichtet, in der sie das Entsetzen der Refugees zum Ausdruck bringen, in dieselbe Kategorie wie die Feinde eingereiht zu werden. Sie weisen darauf hin, dass das juedische Volk, genau wie das chinesische Volk, als erstes den Hieb der Achsenmaechte zu spueren bekam und beide Voelker Millionen Opfer brachten. Einige tausend Juden fanden Zuflucht in Shanghai. Hier haben sie ernste Anstrengungen gemacht, [einen] wuerdigen Beitrag zum wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Leben Chinas zu liefern. Seit dem Ausbruch der Feindseligkeitem [sic] im Jahre 1941 haben wir wieder dasselbe Schicksal wie unsere freien chinessischen [sic] Freunde und Verbuendeten geteilt. Wir wurden von den gemeinsamen Feinden herausgegriffen – unserer Hheuser [sic] und Geschaefte verlustig erklaert – und ohne fuer unsere weitere Existenz Vorsorge zu treffen, abgesondert. Wenn nicht die Menschenfreundlichkeit unserer amerikanischen Freunde gewesen waere, so waeren wir verhungert.

Die Petition fuehrt weiter aus, dass wir den Sieg Chinas und seiner Alliierten als unsere Befreiung begruessten und uns bereit machten, unseren Platz neben den anderen freien Voelkern einzunehmen. Jedoch die Verordnung vom 27. [sic] Nov. laesst unsere Befuerchtungen wieder aufleben. Nach acht Jahren und mehr der Unsicherheit, Verfolgung, Absonderung und Konzentration in Laegern unter den Nazis und den Japanern erfuellt uns jetzt Angst ueber eine aehnliche Aussicht.

Es wird an das Ministerium appelliert, die juedischen und anderen bona fide Refugees als freundliche, befreits [sic] Menschen zu betrachten und uns nicht gegen unseren Willen zu repatriieren. Wir sind der chinesischen Regierung und dem Volke Chinas ewig dankbar dafuer, uns einen Zufluchtshafen in unserer Zeit schwerster Not gewaehrt zu haben und wir hoffen mit Ver-

46 The *Shanghai Echo – Tägliches Nachrichtenblatt* appeared between 1946 and 1948.

trauen nunmehr auf Chinas guten Willen und seine Fuehrerrolle unter den Vereinigten Nationen.

Document 175

Anonymous
March 1946
Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald, Special Edition, 27.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Die Herren von der „S.A.C.R.A."
Eindruecke eines Opfers

Die SACRA ist eine Institution, die die Aufgabe hatte, die deutschen und polnischen Fluechtlinge im Ghetto unterzubringen. Die Lokalitaeten der SACRA bestehen aus vier Zimmern. Im ersten Zimmer sitzt Dr. Cohn mit seinem japanischen Adviser [sic] Kano. In diesem Zimmer darf man sich nichts Gutes erwarten: Wir haben Feinde vor uns, mit denen man wie mit Freunden sprechen muss. Das zweite Zimmer ist fuer das Praesidium vorbehalten, im dritten und vierten Zimmer sitzen die Beamten. Fuer die Interessenten selbst steht nur ein finsterer, schmutziger Korridor zur Verfuegung. Seit dem Gruendungstag der SACRA gibt es hier nur zwei Sparten: Diejenige, welche mit ihrem Geld und die Andere, die mit ihrem Leben fuer Vermeidung des Ghettoaufenthaltes bezahlen muss. Die beiden Sparten sind leicht auseinanderzuhalten. Die Fuehrer der ersten haben ein sicheres Auftreten, gehen mit erhobenem Kopfe und sprechen laut. Sie bruellen die Fluechtlinge an, drohen und machen ihnen den Vorwurf, dass sie nicht mit eigenem Geld sich Wohnungen im Ghetto kaufen koennen. Sie halten ihnen vor, dass sie sich gluecklich fuehlen muessen, da es ihnen in Warschau noch schlechter gegangen sei. Die Fluechtlinge fuehlen sich aber nicht gluecklich. Wohl ging es ihnen in Warschau noch schlechter, aber Heimatlosigkeit, Arbeitslosigkeit, Hunger gehoeren auch nicht zu einer Atmosphaere des Wohlbehagens. Wenn jemand als Fremder die Lokalitaeten der SACRA betreten wuerde, muesste er glauben, dass hier zwei verschiedene Voelker einander gegenueber stehen. Ein rechtloses und ein herrschendes. Freilich waere das nur die Ansicht eines Nichteingeweihten, denn in Wirklichkeit gibt es hier nur ein Volk mit verschiedentlicher Moral. Der eine Teil ist der Ansicht, dass das Vermoegen nicht zu schonen sei, wenn man damit Leben retten kann; der andere Teil aber, dass

kein Leben der Anderen ein zu grosses Opfer sei, um das eigene Vermoegen zu retten.

Wir schreiben Maerz 1944, der Tag ist kalt und regnerisch. Es ist knapp vor mittag. Bald wird die SACRA geschlossen, aber die versammelten Fluechtlinge machen keine Miene, das Lokal zu verlassen. Ungefaehr vierzig Personen, blasse Menschen, halten Jagd nach den SACRA-Herren, alle reflektieren auf ein einziges Zimmer im Ghetto. Okura, der SS Fuehrer des Ghetto hat erklaert, dass jeder Tag des Saeumnisses in der Uebersiedlung ins Ghetto einen Tag Gefaengnis bedeutet. Und man weiss, dass Okura im Verhaengen der Strafen Wort haelt. Die Fluechtlinge jagen bereits seit einer Woche nach Wohnungen: Eine Woche Gefaengnis ist ihnen schon sicher. Menschen, die aus Warschau bis nach Shanghai gefluechtet sind. Menschen, die brennende Staedte gesehen haben, die auf den Landstrassen Bergen von Leichen und deutschen Truppen begegnet sind, haben keine Angst vor dem Kerker. Aber Okura schickt die Menschen nicht in ein gewoehnliches Gefaengniss, Okura schickt sie in Loecher, die mit Flecktyphus infiziert sind, Okura schickt sie in den Tod. Es gibt ein einfaches und sehr vernehmliches Wort, das die Lippen der Fluechtlinge stets wiederholen: Hilfe. Aber dieses Wort hoeren die Herren der SACRA nicht. Sie sind selbstbewusst und indifferent. Die Fluechtlinge sprechen nicht laut, sie bitten mit einer leisen und kuenstlich ruhigen Stimme: Gebt uns ein Zimmer, wir besitzen kein Geld, um Abstand zu zahlen, wir haben alles verloren. Die Herren beraten sich, dann ver[k]uenden sie, man solle morgen wiederkommen. Zur siebentaetigen [sic] Strafe in der Typhuskammer kommt noch ein Tag hinzu, aber auch morgen wird nichts erledigt werden. Einer der leitenden SACRA-Leute versucht den Fluechtlingen zu erklaeren, dass die Zimmer im Ghetto sehr teuer geworden sind, man sei nicht in der Lage zu mieten. Und was den Flecktyphus betrifft, so ist das eine Gottesgeissel, man kann die Krankheit auch bekommen wenn man auf der Strasse spazieren geht. Die Argumentation ist zwar nicht ganz stichhaltig, doch bleiben die Leute ruhig. Im Direktionszimmer sitzt der Japaner und dieser Umstand allein ist das hoechste Argument. Die Welt hat sich sehr oft mit der juedischen Solidaritaet befasst, aber wenn sich jemand an diesem kalten regnerischen Maerztag des Jahres 1944 bei der SACRA aufgehalten hat, so musste er den Eindruck haben, dass die sogenannte juedische Solidaritaet von den Antisemiten erfunden wurde. Die Fuehrer der Shanghaier juedischen Gemeinde haben nicht nur geduldet, dass man ihre Stammesgenossen schaendet und zugrunde richtet, sondern sie haben sich auch nicht geruehrt, als sie vor die Aufgabe gestellt worden sind, die Geschaendeten und Zugrundegerichteten durch Geldspenden zu retten. Selbstbeherrschung ist etwas sehr Schoenes, aber derjenige, der dem Tode gegenueber steht, wird sie frueher oder spaeter verlieren. Eines schoenen Tages kam es dazu, dass die Leute die

Lokalitaeten der SACRA nicht verlassen wollten, bevor ihnen eine konkrete Hilfe zu Teil werde. Und da geschah etwas Unglaubliches. Ein hysterischer Herr der SACRA-Leitung begann, „die arroganten Pollaken" anzupoebeln. Je mehr man ihn beruhigen wollte, umso lauter schrie er. Es verging nur eine kurze Spanne Zeit, denn aus dem Zimmer Numero 1 kam der Japaner KANO ploetzlich heraus und schlug denjenigen, der angebruellt wurde, nieder. Todesstille trat ein. Alles war ruhig. Als Folge erschien am naechsten Tag eine Verordnung Kubotas, dass jeder SACRA-Besucher sich in eine Besucherliste eintragen muesse. Zu einem Zeitpunkt, wo alle Applikanten bei der SACRA bereits illegal in der Stadt wohnten und daher nicht riskieren konnten, ihre Namen und Adressen in die Liste einzutragen. So konnte die SACRA ruhig „arbeiten" und die Fluechtlinge zaehlten die Gefaengnistage, die mit jedem versaeumten Tag zu ihrer Strafe hinzukamen. Fuenf Wochen spaeter erhielt jeder eine Wohnung, teils privat, teils in den Godowns.[47] Aber diejenigen, welche straffaellig geworden sind, zaehlen in ihren Reihen sieben Tote und zehn schwer Kranke. Der Weg der Lebenden ist lang und verworren, der Weg der Toten ist kurz und vollendet. Es stehen sieben Graeber nebeneinander, sie bergen sieben Leichen. Die Leichenbegaengnisse waren nicht besonders zahlreich besucht. Die Japaner erlaubten nicht, dass die Toten bis zu ihrer Ruhestaette begleitet werden. Man pflegt den Toten zu wuenschen: „Die Erde werde ihnen leicht." Sei es uns erlaubt zu wuenschen, dass die, die diese Sieben ermordet hatten, und die, die mittelbar an ihrem Tode schuldig sind, die Erde ewig bedruecken soll.
(„Unsere Welt",[48] Sonderausgabe 1945).

Document 176

Anonymous
January 10, 1946
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo, vol. 1, no.11, 3.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

47 A term for storage facilities that were also used by the Japanese authorities for internment.

48 Since many Shanghai publications were not available for this volume, it is not clear which paper is meant by *Unsere Welt*.

Kurzer Ueberblick ueber das Emigranten-Problem
Mr. Siegel und Mr. Jordan[49] sprechen in einer Pressekonferenz

Gestern Abend nahm Mr. Siegel die Gelegenheit wahr, um kurz vor seiner Rueckkehr nach den Vereinigten Staaten der Emigrantenpresse seine Ansichten zu uebermitteln und von der Emigration Abschied zu nehmen. Bei dieser Konferenz war auch Mr. Jordan, der neue Joint-Delegierte fuer den Fernen Osten zugegen.

In seiner Ansprache fuehrte Mr. Siegel aus, dass er jetzt nach vierjaehrigem Aufenthalt Shanghai wieder verlassen wird. Die fuenf Monate seit Beendigung des Pazifik-Krieges koennen als eine erfolgreiche Periode der hiesigen Joint-Taetigkeit bezeichnet werden. Ein neues Joint-Komitee hat das waehrend des Krieges fungierende Komitee abgeloest, und wenn es auch nicht moeglich war, waehrend dieser kurzen Zeit alle Probleme zu loesen, so wurde es zum ersten Mal mit Hilfe der UNRRA und CNRRA[50] erreicht, dass es keine hungernden Emigranten mehr in Shanghai gibt. Das wichtigste Problem war, genuegend Nahrungsmittel fuer die Betreuten zu erhalten, und es ist zu hoffen, dass auch in Zukunft diese Aufgabe befriedigend geloest werden wird, wobei allerdings die begrenzten Transportmoeglichkeiten gegenwaertig noch ein grosses Hindernis bedeuten.

Unterstuetzung der Wanderung

Die groesseren und wichtigeren Probleme, die auf Gestaltung der Zukunft Einfluss haben, werden innerhalb der naechsten 18 Monate – dies ist die vorgesehene Arbeitsdauer der UNRRA und CNRRA – erledigt werden, wobei das Hauptaugenmerk darauf gerichtet sein wird, die Emigranten in all den Laendern, wohin sie abwandern werden, in den Wirtschaftsprozess einzuschalten und von jeder sozialen Unterstuetzung unabhaengig zu machen. Man wird sich da in erster Linie damit befassen muessen, den Emigranten die Einreise dorthin zu ermoeglichen, wo sie eine Heimat finden koennen. Hierfuer kommen Emigranten in Frage, die Beziehungen nach den Vereinigten Staaten, Suedamerika, Australien oder Palaestina besitzen. Auch denjenigen, die in China bleiben, wird jede produktive Hilfe gewaehrt werden muessen und es besteht gar keine Ursache, sich einer Panikstimmung hinzugeben. Die Emigranten sollten sich endlich daran gewoehnen, nur wahre authentische Tatsachen zur Kenntnis zu nehmen und nicht den Geruechten ein williges

49 This was Charles Jordan.

50 The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, established in November 1945 by the Chinese Government, worked with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) program between 1945 and 1947.

Ohr leihen. Mr. Siegel machte bei einer anderen Gelegenheit den Scherz, er wisse noch nicht genau, wann er die Gelegenheit haben werde abzureisen, aber er sei ueberzeugt, dass die Emigranten es wissen.

Mr. Siegels Abschiedsworte

Bevor er Shanghai verlasse, betonte Mr. Siegel, wolle er der Oeffentlichkeit und dem Joint-Komitee fuer die ausgezeichnete Arbeit, die sie leisten, wie auch allen anderen Organisationen fuer die Unterstuetzung waehrend der letzten vier Monate herzlich danken. Die Emigranten sind durch grosse Schwierigkeiten gegangen und die Geschichte der Emigration hatte das Hoechstmass an Unannehmlichkeiten erreicht. Jetzt bricht endlich eine Periode an, in der alle Probleme geloest werden sollen. Mr. Siegel bittet, ihn entschuldigen zu wollen, dass es ihm nicht mehr moeglich ist, alle seine Freunde in unserer Gemeinschaft persoenlich zu sprechen. Er nimmt daher auf diesem Wege von ihnen Abschied. „Ich glaube", sagte Mr. Siegel, „dass ich in der Lage sein werde, dem amerikanischen Joint einen vollumrissenen Bericht ueber die Lage der hiesigen Emigranten zu uebermitteln und hoffe ihnen dadurch sehr nuetzlich zu sein. Wir werden bestrebt sein, ihnen jede Hilfe zu gewaehren. Den Shanghaier Emigranten gelten meine besten Wuensche fuer die Zukunft."

Mr. Jordans Plaene

Mr. Jordan, in dessen Haenden nunmehr die kuenftige Arbeit des hiesigen Joint liegen wird, bemerkte auf einige Fragen, dass das Ausmass der Unterstuetzung der hiesigen Emigranten von der Taetigkeit der UNRRA und UNRRA [sic] abhaengt, die ihrerseits an die Transportmoeglichkeiten gebunden sind. Der Joint wird dies bezueglich in staendigem Kontakt mit diesen Organisationen bleiben. Die CNRRA arbeitet hier nach denselben Methoden und mit den gleichen Absichten wie in Europa und richtet sich nach den Problemen und Erfordernissen der Beduerftigen.

Emigranten, die durch ihre Auslandsbeziehungen die Moeglichkeit erlangen werden, in andere Laender abzuwandern, werden jede nur erdenkliche Unterstuetzung der zustaendigen Organisationen geniessen, um ihr Ziel zu erreichen. Ueber die Loesung der Einwanderungsprobleme fuer solche Emigranten, die keinen Kontakt mit Personen in den Einwanderungslaendern besitzen, waere verfrueht sich auslassen zu wollen, da dies eine Angelegenheit der UNO ist, die jetzt erst ihre Arbeit aufnimmt. Mr. Jordan stellte noch fest, dass es verschiedene isolierte Emigrantengruppen, so auf den Philippinen, in Burma, Japan, und im uebrigen China gibt, deren Existenz durch die amerikanische Armee festgestellt wurde und die sich gleichfalls der Hilfe durch den Joint erfreuen werden.

Dank an Mr. Siegel

Nach einer kurzen aber intensiven und erfolgreichen Arbeitsperiode wird Mr. Siegel demnaechst Shanghai verlassen. Ihn begleiten die besten Wuensche der Emigration. An seine Stelle tritt Mr. Jordan, eine junge markante Erscheinung, der, wie Mr. Siegel einleitend sagte, grosse Erfahrungen auf sozialem Gebiete besitzt und in der Eigenschaft eines Joint-Delegierten fuer den gesamten Fernen Osten hierher gekommen ist. Wir glauben dem neuen Joint-Delegierten in Shanghai die Versicherung abgeben zu duerfen, dass die Presse und die Oeffentlichkeit zur Loesung der vorliegenden Probleme mit ihm voll kooperieren werden, und seine guten Absichten zu wuerdigen wissen.

Document 177

Alfred Schwarz[51]
March 1946
Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer, 6.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Dr. A. Schwarz:

Auch wir wollen leben

Die Frage der Weiterwanderung

18. Februar 1942 – 10. November 1939[52] – beide Daten, die uns allen hier, unser ganzes Leben lang nie aus dem Gedaechtnis schwinden werden. Der 10. November, als der Auftakt zu Auschwitz, Treblinka und den anderen Staetten des Mordes. Der 18. Februar, der Tag, an dem unser Urteil zu drei Jahren Ghetto verkuendet wurde.

10. November – 18. Februar

Der 10. November, dessen Geist schrecklich lange Jahre ueber Europa geherrscht hat, ist nun endgueltig vorueber, und die Welt sitzt ueber die Hauptschuldigen zu Gericht. Ja, man sitzt zu Gericht, man berichtet taeglich ueber neuentdeckte Greueltaten, ueber schier unglaublich gemeine, niedrige Bestialitaet. Die Zeitungen sind voll mit den Untaten dieser Unholde; Hundert-

51 Dr. Alfred Schwarz (c. 1913–?) was a chemist.

52 The "Kristallnacht" (November pogrom) is usually dated November 9, 1938. The events actually took place from November 9 to 11.

tausende, Millionen ehrerbietige Maenner und Frauen lesen mit Entsetzen taeglich die fast wahnwitzig klingenden Berichte und mit Entruestung und Ekel ueber die Kreaturen und deren Verbrechen und voll Mitleid ueber die Opfer legen sie die Zeitung weg … und dann – ja dann … gehen sie zu ihrer Arbeit in die Fabriken, in die Bureaus, in den Haushalt und haben fuer den Rest des Tages bis zum naechsten gierig erwarteten Sensationsbericht uns, die No. 1 Opfer des Naziregimes, vergessen; und die Juden in Deutschland leben weiter im Zeichen des 18. Februars 1842 [sic] – segregated – d.h. abgesondert von der Welt, der neuen Freiheit und des neuen Aufbaus.

Ende des Hungers

Ja, es stimmt, wir brauchen hier in Shanghai keine Spezial-Paesse mehr, wenn wir z.B. auf die andere Seite der Seward Road gehen wollen; viele von uns haben auch einen ganz netten Verdienst gefunden, und die UNRRA und der JOINT sorgen mit Grosszuegigkeit dafuer, dass keiner von uns hungert. Das alles ist richtig, die Magen [sic] der Emigranten sind wieder satt – aber was ist mit den Herzen, mit den Seelen? Sie schreien noch immer laut – Hunger, Hunger!

Die Frage der Rueckwanderung

Wir wissen, und wir verstehen, dass in erster Linie den bedraengten Juden in Europa Hilfe geleistet werden muss. Vielen von uns hier, die Verwandte haben, sind auch bereits Affidavits oder Permits fuer Australien zugegangen oder in Aussicht gestellt worden und es hat sich diesen Glueckseligen so das Tor hinaus in das ersehnte neue Leben geoeffnet. Einige wollen auch hierbleiben und dem hiesigen, selbst vom Kriege so hart betroffenen Volk, aufbauen helfen. – Was ist aber mit der verbleibenden Masse? Kuerzlich ist eine Antwort eines UNRRA Beamten veroeffentlicht worden, die besagte, dass die UNRRA keine Einreise nach U.S.A. verschafft, und dass wir nur einen Anspruch auf Rueckbefoerderung in unser Ausgangsland haben – eine Antwort, die mich an Anschlaege in manchem [sic] grossen Geschaeftshaeusern und Herrschaftspalaesten erinnert, – „Betteln und Hausieren verboten“ – wovon Ihr lebt geht uns nichts an, unsere Tische sind gedeckt. – Nun, aber auch diese Antwort befriedigt einen Teil unter uns. Einige unter uns, meistens sind es aeltere Menschen, wollen zurueck. Sie wollen sich fuer den Rest ihres Lebens nicht mehr mit fremden Lebensbedingungen und einer fremden Sprache herumschlagen. Shanghai hat meist schon ihre Kraefte verbraucht, sie haben genug; vor ihrer Erinnerung tauchen Bilder vergangener, schoener Zeiten auf, sie denken an ihren zurueckgelassenen Besitz und – obwohl auch ihr Herz vor Schmerz ob der zugefuegten Wunden schreit – vergewaltigen sie sich selbst, sie beissen die Zaehne zusammen, verstecken die zorngeballte

Faust in der Tasche, verstopfen ihre Ohren gegen die aus Europa kommenden Alarmnachrichten und sagen – wir gehen zurueck. Aber alle koennen mit sich und ihrem Gewissen nicht so umgehen, sie koennen nicht vergessen. – Oder glaubt die Welt, dass wir andere Gefuehle haben als die Nazi-Opfer in Europa?

Hierbleiben?

Waehrend wir bis vor kurzer Zeit vor der harten Moeglichkeit standen, auch zwangsweise zurueckgesendet zu werden, ist nun dieser Alp von uns genommen worden. Die UNO veroeffentlichte einen Beschluss, dass kein Fluechtling gegen seinen Willen gezwungen werden kann, in sein Ausgangsland zurueckzukehren.[53] Als wir diesen Bericht vor einigen Tagen lasen, haben wir wohl alle eine gewisse innere Befriedigung und Erleichterung empfunden. Doch andererseits mussten wir uns fragen, wohin aber dann. Hier ist kein Bleiben, vor allem wegen des fuer uns unertraeglichen Klimas – und die andere Welt hatte ihren Standpunkt bei der Eviankonferenz noch nicht viel geaendert. Waere damals nicht Shanghai gewesen, so haette die fuer Tote so mitfuehlende Welt noch siebzehntausend Menschen mehr bedauern koennen.

Nach Australien!

Doch inzwischen, so zu sagen zum Jahrestag des 18. Februar ist eine fast unglaublich schoene Nachricht durch die Welt gegangen: Australien will 7 000 000 Menschen einwandern lassen. Mit Freude und mit einem aengstlichen Beben zugleich haben wir diese Botschaft vernommen und vor uns draengt sich die bange Frage auf: werden wir dazu gehoeren?

Wie uns die Erfahrung bis jetzt lehrte, war die Frage der Einwanderung im betraechtlichen Ausmasse eine Geldfrage. Geld ist der Special-Pass fuer das Leben. Ich weiss nicht, wieviel ein Tag Kriegfuhren [sic] gekostet hat, aber eines weiss ich sicher; die Geldmittel, die noetig waren, um einen oder zwei Tage Krieg zu fuehren, wuerden vollkommen genuegen, um die Garantien fuer Tausende von Menschen zu decken bezw. ihnen im Anfang finanzielle Hilfe zu leisten.

Nach langem aussichtslosen und quaelend hoffnungslosen [sic] Ausgesetztsein in [sic] tosenden Meer der hilflosen Ausgestossenheit erscheint uns Schiffbruechigen des Lebens ein rettendes Schiff. Das Schiff heisst „Australien“. Es ist unsere Chance. Eine gute Chance. Dort braucht man Menschen, die arbeiten wollen, und wir wollen arbeiten, weil wir leben wollen. Wir ha-

53 This was resolution 8 (1) of the United Nations General Assembly Record (U.N.G.A.O.R.) of February 12, 1946; cf. Evan J. Criddle/Evan Fox-Decent, Fiduciaries of Humanity. How International Law Constitutes Authority, Oxford 2010, 248.

ben unseren Lebenswillen und unsere Arbeitskraft bewiesen, ganz egal wie alt wir sind, aus welchen Berufen wir kommen, aus dem Handwerk, aus dem Handel, oder aus den freien Berufen. Wir sind heute alle lebens- und emigrationserfahren, wir wissen, was es heisst, wenn es ums Ganze geht, und Shanghai war eine harte Schule. Ich glaube sagen zu koennen, dass wir Shanghai-Veteranen wohl zu der besten Sorte gehoeren, die man auf der Welt finden kann, insbesondere fuer ein Land, das Industrie und auch Handel benoetigt.

Shanghai – Designated Area der Welt

Millionen von Menschen sind fuer Gueltigkeit der Menschenrechte in den Tod gegangen. Im Namen dieser blutgetraenkten Menschenrechte rufen wir diesem Schiffe am Horizont zu, rettet uns. Lasst uns nicht untergehen. Oeffnet unsere „Designated Area."

Sowie wir s. Zt.[54] stundenlang, tagelang vor dem „Stateless Refugees Affairs Bureau" standen und mit bangen Gefuehlen auf unseren „Special Pass" warteten, so stehen wir heute noch immer vor der Tuere der Welt und warten und warten auf einen „Special Pass" fuer das neue Leben. Ihr Menschen, die Ihr mit unseren toten Opfern so viel Mitgefuehl zeigt, verwandelt doch ein bisschen von diesem Mitleid in Liebe und Verstaendnis fuer uns, die Ueberlebenden, auf dass mit dem Geist des 10. Novembers auch der Geist des 18. Februars verschwinde. Wartet nicht noch auf ein paar Selbstmordopfer in Shanghai, durch die unsere entsetzlich traurige Lage demonstriert wird. Wir wollen leben und arbeiten. Nehmt uns auf! Euer Edelmut wird belohnt werden!

Document 178

Bruno B. Heinsius[55]
April 1946
Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald. Sondernummer, 37, 8.
Microfilm; courtesy Hartmut Walravens

54 Seiner Zeit.

55 Heinsius (1902–1958) was a merchant from Berlin. Like Berthold Metis, Richard Paulick, and others, he was a member of the board of the Association of German Refugees (formerly the Residents Association of Democratic Germans) and later called the Association of Refugees from Germany in Shanghai), which was founded as a body to represent the interests of non-Jewish refugees from Germany. Heinsius was responsible for all administrative issues concerning repatriation and immigration; cf. Lewin, Almanac, 81. After the war he settled in the United States.

Es gibt keine Rueckwanderung!

Wo immer man auch hinkommt – Reiseplaene bilden zurzeit das hauptsaechlichste Gespraechsthema in fast allen Kreisen der Shanghaier Emigration. Wenn sich Shanghai hierdurch von den anderen Emigrationszentren in aller Welt unterscheidet, so findet dieser Umstand eine begreifliche Begruendung darin, dass unsere Verwandten und Freunde in anderen Laendern in ihrer ueberwiegenden Mehrheit nicht nur wirtschaftlich Fuss gefasst, sondern inzwischen auch die Staatsbuergerschaft der betreffenden Laender angenommen haben, waehrend wir hier „staatenlose Fluechtlinge" geblieben sind und noch immer zu etwa 75 % ausserstande sind, unsere Lebensbeduerfnisse aus dem Ertrag unserer Arbeit zu bestreiten.

Dazu kommt, dass eine dauernde Niederlassung in Shanghai nur von einer verschwindenden Minderheit in Betracht gezogen wird, und dass Shanghai von der erdrueckenden Mehrheit von Anfang an nur als Zwischenstation oder als durch die Umstaende erzwungener Umweg nach USA, Australien oder Palaestina betrachtet wurde.

Hierzu kommt die stattliche Gruppe derjenigen, welche mit dem festen Vorsatz hierher kamen, nach Deutschland zurueckzukehren, sobald die politischen Verhaeltnisse dort es erlauben.

Waehrend nun die Weiterwanderungsmoeglichkeiten nach USA und Australien davon abhaengen, ob die Betreffenden den materiellen Voraussetzungen entsprechen koennen, welche die Regierungen der Laender fuer Einwanderer fordern, sei es in Form von Affidavits oder Deposits, sind es gefuehlsmaessige und prinzipielle Probleme, welche derjenige zu klaeren hat, der eine Rueckkehr nach Deutschland erwaegt.

Bei einem Teil dieser Menschen steht der Wunsch im Vordergrund, als die aktiven Antifaschisten, die sie von jeher waren, nun mitzuarbeiten am Neubau eines demokratischen Deutschlands.

Bei einem nicht kleinen Teil duerfte es sich aber eher um die Sehnsucht handeln, nach einer an Abenteuer und Enttaeuschung reichen Emigration nun wieder in die frueher gewohnten „geordneten Verhaeltnisse" zurueckzukehren – kurzum dort wieder anzuknuepfen, wo das Band im Jahre 1939 durch die rohe Nazi-Hand so jaeh zerrissen wurde.

Und hierzu muss einiges gesagt werden, was bereits im Titel dieses Artikels ausgedrueckt worden ist – es gibt keine „*Rueckwanderung*", denn das Deutschland, welches wir verlassen haben, besteht nicht mehr! Schon im Zuge der Umformung, welche die faschistischen Gewalthaber an dem ganzen deutschen Staatswesen vollzogen, wurde Vieles beseitigt, was in der Erinnerung an das vor-nazistische Deutschland als reizvoll weiterlebt.

Die Bereitschaft, an technischen Fortschritten des Auslands teilzuhaben, die Empfaenglichkeit fuer internationale geistige Entwicklungen und die bewusste Anlehnung an die Wirtschafts- und Handelsmethoden des Auslands wichen dem Geist engstirniger Autarkie auf geistigem und wirtschaftlichem Gebiet.

Dem „Herrenvolk“ wurde suggeriert, es koenne sich durch eine Hungerkur altpreussischen Stils so stark machen, dass es der ganzen Welt den Stempel deutschen Geistes aufpraegen werde und im Nebel dieser Phrasen wurde erstickt, was im deutschen Volk an Verstaendnis fuer internationale Bindungen im Aufbluehen war. Die lebensspruehende Atmosphaere, an die wir uns so gern zurueckerinnern, wich der mystischen Romantik auf „neu polierter“ Ordensburgen, und dem ungebundenen Denken wurde in Schulungslagern Scheuklappen angelegt.

Was an Kulturgut und geistigem Gehalt wenigstens noch im leeren Rahmen erhalten geblieben war, ging in Truemmer, als die Umwelt aus ihrem Erstaunen ueber das Ausmass nazistischer Anmassung erwacht war und die Herausforderung der „Herrenrasse“ mit Bomben und Granaten beantwortete. Unfaehig, sich vom dem [sic] Satan zu befreien, dem es sich verschrieben hatte, ging ganz Deutschland in Truemmer und zugleich mit dem deutschen Faschismus ging unter, was ideell und materiell in den letzten 100 Jahren geschaffen worden war.

Nur vom geographischen Standpunkt aus kann man daher von einer „Rueckwanderung“ sprechen.

Von jedem anderen Gesichtspunkt aus waere es vielleicht eher angebracht, es eine „Auswanderung nach Deutschland“ zu nennen und mit dieser Formulierung die Erkenntnis zu verknuepfen, dass die Wanderung nach Deutschland ein Unternehmen ist, welches an jeden, der diese Absicht hat, mindestens die gleichen Anforderungen an Opferwilligkeit und Einsatzbereitschaft stellen wird, wie an denjenigen, der ein anderes Neuland in irgendeinem Teil der Welt betreten will. Wanderung nach Deutschland kann nicht gleichbedeutend sein mit der Wiedererlangung eines bequemen Lebens und einer gesicherten Existenz, sondern wird gleichbedeutend sein mit Kampf auf der ganzen Linie. Und nicht nur mit einem durch die Verhaeltnisse aufgezwungenen Kampf, sondern mit der Pflicht und dem Willen zum Kampf.

Denn darueber muss sich jeder klar sein, dass das Deutschland von gestern und vorgestern nie wieder auferstehen darf – weder das saebelrasselnde Deutschland der wilhelminischen Epoche, noch dasjenige der schwaechlichen Weimarer Republik oder gar jenes fluchbeladene Nest nazistischer Gangster, welche nur Schmach und Schande ueber den deutschen Namen gebracht haben.

Jeder, der am Aufbau eines demokratischen Deutschlands mithelfen will, muss geistig und koerperlich geruestet sein, Wache zu halten, dass diese Gespenster in ihrer Gruft bleiben und nie wieder ihr Unwesen treiben! Heut', kaum 10 Monate nach dem Zusammenbruch des Hitler-Regimes, kann es garnicht anders sein, dass noch nazistische Unterstroemungen bestehen, und an der Bekaempfung und Ausrottung solcher Unruheherde mitzuarbeiten, ist eine ernste Aufgabe, die jedem Wanderer nach Deutschland zufallen wird. Seine Aufgabe wird es sein, da wo ihm sein Platz zugewiesen wird, Hand anzulegen am Aufbau eines Volksstaates, der ideell und materiell auf einer voellig neuen Grundlage stehen und eine neue geistige Ausrichtung haben muss.

Es wird an Krisen nicht mangeln und zu ihrer Ueberwindung wird die Konzentrierung aller brauchbaren Kraefte notwendig sein, wenn das Ziel, der Aufbau eines wahrhaft demokratischen Deutschlands, erreicht werden soll. Wer in sich die Bereitschaft fuehlt, an diesem Kampf teilzunehmen, und wer sich dazu ueberwinden kann, bei seiner Neuansiedlung in Deutschland jeden Gedanken einer Wiederanknuepfung an seine frueheren materiellen Verhaeltnisse auszuschalten, dem ersteht zweifellos eine Aufgabe, die den Einsatz der hoechsten Kraefte wohl lohnt.

Wer aber den Willen zur bewussten Einordnung in eine Gemeinschaft nicht stark genug empfindet, sondern an eine egoistische und individuelle Gestaltung seiner Zukunft denkt, dem mag in irgendeinem anderen Teile der Welt eine bessere Chance winken.

Es ist nicht der Sinn dieser Zeilen, fuer oder gegen das eine oder das andere Projekt Stellung zu nehmen, denn die Frage der „Rueckwanderung" oder „Weiterwanderung" ist von soviel persoenlichen Gefuehlen und besonderen Umstaenden abhaengig, dass es toericht waere, eine Doktrin aufstellen zu wollen, und es muss zwangslaeufig jedem Einzelnen ueberlassen werden, die Entscheidung zu treffen, welche nach den jeweiligen Verhaeltnissen als die richtige erscheint. Fuer eine grosse Gruppe unter uns ist die Frage insofern geklaert, als die Hilfe ihrer Verwandten und Freunde in USA und Australien ihnen die Weiterwanderung dorthin ermoeglicht, und sie dort endgueltig eine neue Heimat finden werden.

Etliche Tausende aber, die sich nicht in dieser gluecklichen Lage befinden, stehen vor einer voellig ungeklaerten Situation und betrachten die „Rueckwanderung" als eine Verlegenheitsloesung, ohne die innere Bereitschaft zu besitzen, welche ich in den obigen Zeilen als die unerlaessliche Voraussetzung fuer eine sinnvolle Wanderung nach Deutschland geschildert habe.

Die Sonder-Nummer des „Shanghai Herald" erschien mir als das geeignete Forum, die Aufmerksamkeit der Offentlichkeit [sic] und der zustaendigen Organisationen auf dieses Problem zu lenken und dazu aufzurufen, zur Loesung dieses brennenden Problems konstruktive Weg zu beschreiten,

damit die Menschen, die nun schon die Leidensstationen der Emigration durchschritten haben, nicht durch Unkenntnis dessen, was vor ihnen steht, in ein neues Dilemma gestuerzt, sondern auf den Weg zu einer besseren, gluecklicheren Zukunft geleitet werden.

Bruno B. Heinsius, Presse-Referent der
GEMEINSCHAFT DER DEMOKRATISCHEN DEUTSCHEN IN SHANGHAI
(RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC GERMANS IN SHANGHAI)

Document 179

EST.
May 31, 1946
Newspaper article, in: Our Life, no. 221, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Emigration in Process of Disbandment

According to Press reports from UNO Subcommittee for Refugee Questions, and still more according to the very instructive information given by Mr. Jordan before the Delegates Council, there seems little doubt left that the Shanghai community of Central European Jews will before long be a thing of the past. One of the most colourful episodes of the European landslide, the story of a number of victims of Hitlerism already marked for destruction, who managed in the nick of time to escape to the outermost fringe of the Eurasian Continent and to save their lives, is drawing to an end.

That it is to be not more than an episode, will be for many refugees a source of melancholic thought and of regret. True they had gone to Shanghai for want of anything better, but once here, they had come to like this city, with its rather haphazard ways, its ups and downs, its spirit still full of daring and adventure, and its truly cosmopolitan character. They had formed valuable social and business contacts, had gained footholds in the economic life of the metropolis, and thought to have given a good account of themselves under trying circumstances. Quite a few, and probably a higher percentage than the old inhabitants, had even managed to master to some extent the difficult language. They had tried hard to make this country a second home.

Now all this shall be lost, and what seemed to be a prerarration [sic] for a better future looks now like so much wasted time.

But there is no denying of facts, and history nowadays is taking little account of personal likes and dislikes. The Chinese Government has declared in no uncertain terms that the refugees are not wanted, and it is little use speculating as to the reasons for this attitude towards people who, after all, have been here for some seven years and have, on the whole, proved an asset for the economic life of this city. It is certainly up to each nation to decide whom they regard desirable and whom not, and nobody would easily think of staying in a house when the host has let him know that he is not welcome.

So the trunks that had all the time been in evidence in most refugee residences as a silent memento that they were not settled yet and that their stay may be no more than another station on their journey, have come to life again. In many a room they stand, all packed and ready, waiting for the still wanting transportation. The minds of their owners are wandering off with them to their new destinations, and the railway-waiting-room-feeling that was so characteristic of Germany in 1939, is duplicated here.

But here, and though it may come as an unpleasant reminder to many who find this period of suspense untolerable [sic], a warning does not seem out of place. It is much easier to destroy than to build up. It took no more than about six months to assemble here nearly 20,000 refugees but it will probably take some two years to rehabilitate the 15,000 that are left of them. Transportation in the Pacific area is expected to get into its stride by the end of July, or the beginning of August. For Europe, facilities will not be forthcoming before late fall or winter. But transportattion [sic], though a necessary prerequisite, is not everything. The bulk of the refugees will probably go to America, though Australia may take a portion. This, however, is dependent on the speed of handling the non-quota and preference cases,[56] on the quota that is not so good for some countries, on the competing cases of the European Jews, on the availibility [sic] and quality of the affidavits, and, last not least, on the pace set by the American Consulate. So for the ordinary run of applicants not possessed of special qualifications, it will be advisable to compose themselves in patience.

But this exactly raises a question that in our opinion should be not overlooked. This interstice between the decision to re-emigrate and really leaving the conntry [sic] seems unavoidable. But must it necessarily be a period of suspense, nervousness, and more or less enforced idleness? Could it not on the contrary be looked upon as something highly desirable as a period available for preparation and retraining? Could it not in some way put to good use?

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56 For the quota system, see below, Document 182.

The plight of most of the Shanghai re-emigrants, who are now setting about starting a new life in different parts of the world, is far from enviable. Seven years of exile have eaten deeply into their scanty resources, have used up their clothing and linen and have, worst of all, left them so many years the older and less fit to meet strenuous competition. Wherever they go, their task will not be an easy one.

Under these circumstances, this period of enforced waiting could be a blessing if properly used. Every single refugee will need some kind of readjustment and there is no reason why not at least a substantial part of this readjustment could be effected here, under proper supervision and with adequate training methods. Mr. Jordan, speaking for the American J.D.C., has already declared his willingnes [sic] to give every assistance to all serious efforts made in this direction. He was thinking of books and other training materials. In our opinion, this is too little. Was [sic] is most urgently needed is a competent, if small, training staff. May be this is asking too much at time when all resources are already strained to the uttermost. But it would be well worth trying, and if it could be put into effect, it would be a lasting credit for those responsible for not only liquidating the Shanghai Emigration, but also taking care of its further destiny.
EST.

Document 180

ARI
February 5, 1946
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo, vol. 1, no. 35, 1 f.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Weiterwanderungsfragen

Naturgemaess ist das Weiterwanderungsproblem von grossem Interesse fuer unsere Emigration und aus dem taeglichen Gespraechsstoff nicht mehr wegzudenken. Viele Emigranten haben bereits ein festes Ziel zur Weiterwanderung durch verwandtschaftliche oder sonstige Beziehungen, die sie mit ihrem erhofften Zukunftslande verbinden, andere wieder sind gaenzlich auf ihre eigene Initiative angewiesen, aber allen gemeinsam ist der Wunsch, die Grundlagen ihrer kuenftigen Lebensgestaltung in eine geordnete Bahn zu bringen.

Es ist das traurige Schicksal des juedischen Fluechtlings, dass er zur Bewaeltigung dieser so lebenswichtigen Aufgaben voellig in der Luft haengt und im Dunklen tappt, waehrend andere Menschen nicht nur ueber ein angestammtes Land verfuegen, sondern auch ueber ein Konsulat, das ihre Interessen im Auslande wahrnimmt und dem sie ihre Sorgen und Wuensche anvertrauen duerfen, um ihre Probleme einer Regelung zuzufuehren.

Aus diesem Grunde verdient die Mitteilung Mr. Jordans, dass er nunmehr daran geht, ein Emiration [sic] Departement im Rahmen des Joint zu begruenden, ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Mr. Jordan, der den Joint bei verschiedenen Fluechtlingskonferenzen u.a. auch in Evian vertreten und entsprechendes Material mitgebracht hat, verfuegt ueber das noetige Ruestzeug an Erfahrungen, um sich dieser aeusserst komplizierten aber lebenswichtigen Aufgabe fuer unsere Gemeinschaft widmen zu koennen. Sie erfordert nicht bloss den vollen Einsatz der eigenen Person, Takt und diplomatische Geschicklichkeit, sondern auch eine einflussreiche Fuehlungnahme mit den massgebenden Vertretungen der in Frage kommenden Laender. Daher ist die Andeutung Mr. Jordans, die uns ueber seine enge Zusammenarbeit mit Mr. Beckelmann [sic], dem Vertreter des Governmental Committee on Refugees[57] orientierte, sehr beachtenswert. Denn auch Mr. Beckelmann, der bereits kurz vor Kriegsausbruch im Pazifik auf der Durchreise in Shanghai weilte und seine Beobachtungen in einem Interview mit der Chronicle wiedergab, ist zum Zwecke der Regelung und Sondierung von Fragen und Problemen in Zusammenhang mit den Displaced Persons nach Shanghai gekommen.

Dieser neuerliche Schritt Mr. Jordans ist fuer unsere Oeffentlichkeit von ganz besonderer Tragweite, die mit Dankbarkeit und Genugtuung zur Kenntnis nimmt, dass sie in Zukunft ueber die soziale Betreuung hinaus auch eine Vertretung haben wird, die sich eine alles umfassende Behandlung ihrer Probleme zur Aufgabe macht, was sich mit den Worten „Weiterwanderung und produktive Niederlassung“ grob umreissen laesst.

Waehrend der Debatte mit den Pressevertretern sprach Mr. Jordan auch von San Domingo,[58] dem so erwaehnenswerten Verhalten einer kleinen Republik, die bei jeder Fluechtlings-Konferenz eine loebliche Ausnahme-Stellung eingenommen hat und auch neuerdings sich bereit erklaerte, hunderttausend Fluechtlinge aufzunehmen. Das dominikanische Land, meinte Mr. Jordan, ist

57 Beckelman became Assistant Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (ICR) in 1945. This body was built following the Evian Conference of 1938 to find sanctuaries for Jewish refugees. The ICR was dissolved in 1947.

58 The author refers to the Dominican Republic, its capital being Santo Domingo. The Dominican Republic was at that time a military dictatorship, broadly supported by the United States administration.

wohl wunderschoen, aber es herrscht tropisches Klima, ausserdem waere es notwendig, dass sich unsere europaeischen Menschen dort als Farmer niederlassen, wozu ihnen jede Voraussetzung fehlt. Palaestina kann in diesem Zusammenhang nicht als Beispiel dienen, denn die dortige Umschulung und landwirtschaftliche Betaetigung der Juden ist getragen von einem Idealismus, der in dieser Form nur bei den Einwanderern Palaestinas zu finden ist. Abgesehen davon ist der Lebensstandard der palaestinensischen Juden selbst auf den landwirtschaftlichen Siedlungen ein europaeischer, durchpulst von Kultur und Zivilisation in allen Lebensaeusserungen.

Eines besonderen Hinweises bedarf es noch fuer diejenigen, deren Sehnsucht sich mit den drei Buchstaben |2| USA ausdruecken laesst. Alle Emigranten, die einen richtigen Grund haben nach USA zu gehen, werden die Moeglichkeit zur Einwanderung erhalten. Die Formulare, die zwecks Registrierung beim amerikanischen Konsulat bereits eingereicht wurden, sind bis auf eine einzige Rubrik richtig ausgefuellt. Und zwar handelt es sich in diesem Falle um die Frage der Verwandten in Amerika, wo der Vermerk, ob dieselben amerikanische Buerger sind, nicht unwesentlich ist. Das amerikanische Konsulat orientierte Mr. Jordan, dass es erst nach Bearbeitung des Materials in ca. vier Wochen in der Lage sein wird, die Applikanten vorzuladen. Dies gilt auch fuer die Empfaenger von Affidavits, die sich gleichfalls in Geduld fassen muessen, bis sie vorgeladen werden. Visa werden vorlaeufig nicht ausgegeben werden, erst bis die Transportmittel in genuegendem Ausmass zur Verfuegung stehen werden und dies wird vor dem Fruehjahr nicht der Fall sein. Mr. Jordan zeigte auch ein Telegramm, aus dem hervorging, dass die Geruechte, dass eine Kommission aus Australien nach Shanghai komme, jeder Grundlage entbehren.

Dies und vieles andere, worueber wir bereits in unserer letzten Ausgabe berichtet haben, vermittelte uns die aeusserst interessante Unterhaltung mit Mr. Jordan anlaesslich seiner letzten Pressekonferenz: Ansichten und Hinweise von besonderer Bedeutung, die den Lebensnerv unserer Emigration beruehren und eine ausfuehrliche Wuerdigung verdienen.
ARI

Document 181

UP
March 12, 1946
Newspaper article, in: The Shanghai Herald, no. 11, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Refugees keine Feinde.
Weitgehendstes Entgegenkommen der chin. Regierung
Refugees koennen chinesische Staatsbuergerschaft erwerben

New York, 10. Maerz. Gemaess eines Chungkinger Telegramms der New York Times sind die chinesischen Regierungsbestimmungen bezueglich der Wohlfahrt der europaeischen Fluechtlinge in Shanghai in dem Ausmasse modifiziert worden, das die zukuenftigen Aussichten dieser Leute bedeutend verbessert.

Unterredungen in Chungking, denen Beamte des amerikanischen Aussenamtes und der stellvertretende Direktor des Intergovernmental Committees fuer Fluechtlingsfragen, Mr. M. W. Beckelmann [sic], beiwohnten, resultierten in der Liberalisierung der Massregeln, welche letzten Herbst angeordnet wurden und welche die Internierung der Fluechtlinge aus Deutschland und Oesterreich vor ihrer Repatriierung vorsahen. Die Anzahl dieser Fluechtlinge in Shanghai wird auf 20 000 Seelen geschaetzt, von denen die meisten vor dem Jahre 1941 in dieser Stadt eintrafen. Die Regierungsbestimmung, die damals herausgegeben war, besagte, dass alle Fluechtlinge aus Deutschland und Oesterreich repatriiert werden wuerden, es sei denn, sie waeren imstande, in besonderen Faellen eine Regierungserlaubnis fuer ihren weiteren Aufenthalt zu erhalten. Durch das neue Uebereinkommen ist sichergestellt, dass jeder Fall individuell behandelt werden wird. Es wird bona fide Refugees erlaubt werden, in China zu bleiben, wenn ihr weiterer Aufenthalt China zum Nutzen gereicht. Jene, welche die Erlaubnis erhalten, in China zu bleiben, werden die Moeglichkeit erhalten, die chinesische Staatsbuergerschaft zu erwerben. Diejenigen, welchen die Aufenthaltserlaubnis versagt werden sollte, sollen China bei der ersten sich bietenden Gelegenheit verlassen. Weiterhin besagte das Telegramm, dass das Committee fortfahren wird, den Refugees Hilfe zu leisten. Die meisten der Fluechtlinge haben nicht die Absicht, in China zu bleiben. Das Telegramm besagte, dass die Mehrheit von ihnen in andere Laender als Deutschland oder Oesterreich weiterzuwandern beabsichtigt. Viele der Oesterreicher, aber nur einige von den Deutschen, wollen nach Hause zurueckkehren.

Die UNRRA plant diese bei ihrer Repatriierung zu unterstuetzen und das Intergovernmental Committee wird alle Anstrengungen unternehmen, ihnen die Einreiseerlaubnis in andere Laender zu verschaffen und wird ausserdem fuer die Bezahlung ihrer Passagen Sorge tragen.
(UP)

Document 182

William Deman[59] *et. al. to Harry S. Truman (U.S. President)*
October 31, 1947
Typewritten letter (2 pages), included in Wilhelm Deman, „Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen," after p. 199 (unpaginated). Some words were underlined by typewriter, others typed in wide spacing; the second page contains a typed letterhead saying "To the President of the United States, Page 2, October 31, 1947."
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56C

Prof. William Deman
369 Kwenming Road
Shanghai, October 31, 1947
Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
1500 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Mr. President: –

On behalf of about thousand desperate, Shanghai-trapped Austrian D.P.'s, the undersigned beg to submit a memorandum on a l e g a l possibility of a transfer from the tiny Austrian immigration quota (1413) to the wide-open German Quota (25,957) of this group of D.P.'s, and probably of many more at present stranded in all parts of the world.

These very same refugees, victims of Nazi persecution, have been lawfully admitted to the German Quota by the American Consular Authorities in 1938. They remained under the German-Quota till June 30, 1946, according to the official statement of the Department of Justice, Immigration, and Naturalization, as per evidence mentioned in the enclosed memorandum.[60]

Hence follows that these luckless thousands of Austrian D.P.'s have been on the consular waiting lists these eight years as may be gathered from the enclosed photostat copies and authenticated letters-copies.

On September 23, 1945, the Presidential Proclamation Nr. 2666 separated the Austrian- and German Quotas. The result was that Austrian refugees who, till then, were processed by the U.S. Consulates under the quota of

59 About Deman, see ch. 2, n. 53.

60 The memorandum and the letters and copies mentioned below are included in Deman's memoir.

Germany, were, all of a sudden, reassigned to the small Austrian Quota, after eight years of futile waiting.

This effect was certainly not intended by said Presidential Proclamation, the more so, as, at that time the D.P. problem was not yet under discussion.

The United States Government, though not having de jure recognized the enforced union between Austria and Germany, has done so "de facto," thus aiding the victims of Nazi agression [sic] to immigrate to America.

Up to this date the Austrian Treaty has not yet been concluded. For the purpose of admitting the stranded Austrian D.P.'s from all over the world within the framework of the actual law, it might be assumed that this "de facto" state is still existant [sic].

The undersigned entreat you, Mr. President, to kindly |2| consider the feasibility of temporarily suspending the mentioned Presidential Proclamation Nr. 2666, or amending it respectively, in order to enable the Austrian D.P.'s, registered in the consular waiting lists these eight years under the German Quota, (suddenly transferred to the Austrian quota by officially cancelling all prewar registrations) to legally enter the U.S. where they are anxiously awaited by their sponsors, relatives, and friends.

Respectfully submitted,
Prof. William Deman
Arthur Gottlein
Josef Paunzen
Walter Frischler[61]

1 Memorandum
1 Photostat Copy
2 Authenticated letter copies

61 All the undersigned hailed from Vienna. Gottlein (1895–1977) was a successful film actor, director, and editor. In 1939 he left Austria for the Philippines, where he produced movies. The outbreak of the Pacific War forced him to prolong his short visit to Shanghai, remaining from 1941 until the end of the war. In 1949 he returned to Vienna; cf. <http://www.doew.at/erinnern/fotos-und-dokumente/1938-1945/zu-flucht-in-den-tropen/arthur-gottlein> (November 14, 2016). Frischler (1909–1982) returned to Vienna in 1948. His family story is included in the M.A. thesis of his grandson, Michael Andreas Frischler, „Little Vienna" in Shanghai. Auf den Spuren von Melange und Wiener Schnitzel im Paris des Ostens – Eine kultur- und kommunikationswissenschaftliche Betrachtung, Vienna 2009, <http://othes.univie.ac.at/6904/1/2009-08-14_9908480.pdf> (November 14, 2016).

Document 183

Anonymous
February 8, 1946
Newspaper article, in: Shanghai Echo, vol 1, no. 38, 1.
Microfilm; Harry S. Truman Institute Library, HUJI (uncatalogued)

Das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai

Wie das Palestina Amt der Jewich [sic] Agency im Fernen Osten mitteilt, ist das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai angelangt. Der glueckliche Besitzer ist Frau Maragarete [sic] Stein[62] und ihr 10 [sic] jaehriger Sohn, die das Einreisevisum nach Palaestina im hiesigen Konsulat erhielten nachdem sie alle Formalitaeten erledigt hatten. Dies ist das erste Zertifikat fuer Shanghai seit Kriegsausbruch December 1941.

Frau Stein und Sohn werden Shanghai voraussichtlich Mitte Februar per Flugzeug verlassen, um sich in Palaestina mit Ehemann respektive, Vat[e]r zu vereinigen. Herr Stein ist dort als Chemiker taetig.

62 Margarete Stein and her son Ernst (born 1929) were German Jews, and the 1946 Certificate allowed them to move to Palestine and settle in Jerusalem. Ernst, however, lived for several years in the United States, then studied for the rabbinate at the Leo Baeck College in London and eventually became a rabbi in West Berlin; cf. The International Raoul Wallenberg Foundation (ed.), A Member of the Executive Board of the IRWF Will Be Presented with a Doctor Honoris Causa Degree by the Humboldt University of Berlin, <http://www.raoulwallenberg.net/news/member-executive-board-irwf/> (December 1, 2016).

Document 184

Alla Maria Maass[63]
1947 (?)
Typewritten poem, included in Wilhelm Deman, „Ein Verlorenes Jahrzehnt, Shanghai 1939–1949. Tagebuchblätter eines Heimatvertriebenen," 202.
YVA, Irene Eber Collection, YVA 078/56A

GESANG DER 5000

Zehn Jahre standen wir und zehn Minuten
Im Ufersand, ein heimatloses Heer.
Der Wangpoo [sic] wälzte seine gelben Fluten
In das gedächtnislose Meer …

Zehn Jahre Typhus und Malariagluten
Und auf der Point Road winkt ein kühles Grab …
Der Wangpoo wälzte seine gelben Fluten
In das gedächtnislose Meer hinab …

Und Blut und Tränen trieb der Fluss hinunten
In den gedächtnislosen Ozean …
Das Reich der Sonne, es ging auf und unter.
Und siehe, es war eitel und war Wahn!

Zehn Jahre standen wir und zehn Minuten,
Die Letzten der geschlagenen Armee.
Und wenn wir unsichtbares Blut verbluten …
Was schert es die gedächtnislose See??!!

Nur eine Sandspur blieb, die dann die Welle
in das gedächtnislose Meer mitnahm,

63 This is the pen name of Hans Wilhelm Ferdinand Maass (1915–1978). Deman lists in his memoir's index next to Alla Maria Maass, "Son of Leopold, †L.A. Oct. 27, 78." Leopold Maaß, a successful composer, lived in Berlin before coming to Shanghai with Hans, the elder of his two sons. In 1948 both reached the United States and settled in Los Angeles, where Hans eventually worked as a journalist; cf. Sophie Fetthauer, Leopold Maaß, in: Maurer Zenck/Petersen/Fetthauer, Lexikon, <https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00003368> (November 25, 2016).

von jenem Volk, das zwischen Nacht und Helle,
in Shanghai – China, einst an dieser Stelle
an einen Frieden glaubte – der nie kam.

Figures

Fig. 1: Paul Komor (center behind the table), the head of the IC, with fellow IC members at a festive gathering of the IC (1938–1942).

Fig. 2: From right: Sir Victor Sassoon, sponsor of the IC and other refugee aid projects, and Ellis Hayim, active member of the CAEJR (c. 1940).

Fig. 3: Boris Topaz was active in the Shanghai Jewish community since 1916. He was involved in the CAEJR and the Polish Refugee community; later on he became chairman of the local ORT and chairman of SAJCA (undated).

Fig. 4: Horace Kadoorie (center), donor and founder of the SJYA School, at the opening of an athletics championship at the SJYA. The picture is taken from *Bilderbericht über die Tätigkeit des CAEJR*, the reception stamp on the report dates is to May 29, 1941.

Fig. 5: Laura Margolis was head of the JDC in Shanghai from 1941 to 1943 (1943).

Fig. 6: Front row from right: Inuzuka Koreshige, Director of the Office of Stateless Refugee Affairs, A. Herzberg, executive manager of the CAEJR, Michel Speelman, chairman of the CAEJR, and Rabbi Meir Ashkenazi of the Russian Jewish community (1939–1942).

Fig. 7: Members of the IC at work in their office at the Cathay Hotel. In 1939, the office was moved to 190 Kiukiang Road (c. 1938–1939).

Fig. 8: Man collecting money for the IC Milk fund. His sign reads: „Wir helfen euch, nun helft uns! Gebt alle für den Komor Milchfond" (c. 1942–1944).

Fig. 9: Alcock Road camp, located in the former barracks of the Russian detachment of the SVC, opened in 1939; it could accommodate 700 people. Before it was shut down in 1942, it housed the CAEJR office (c. 1939–1942).

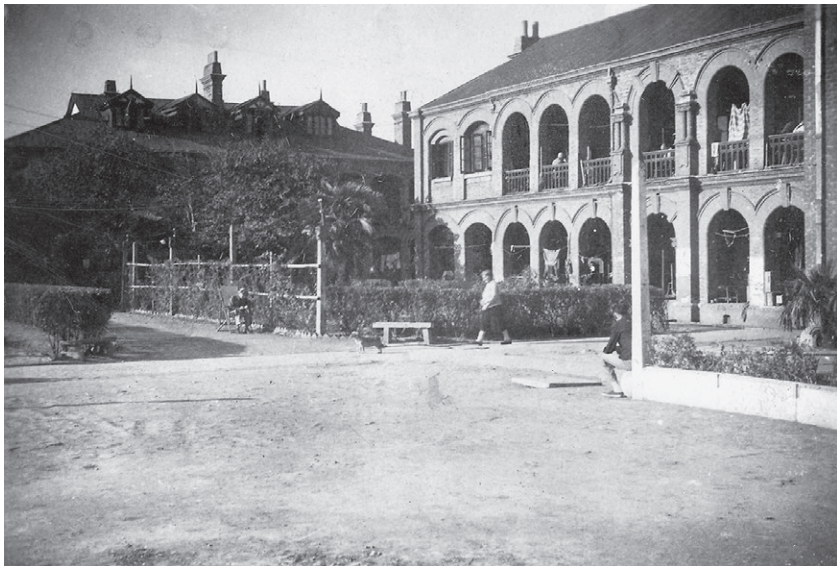

Fig. 10: Chaoufoong Road camp opened in May 1939; the building was a former mission house and could shelter 800 persons (c. 1939–1945).

Fig. 11: Premises of the Pingliang Road camp; it was located on the site of the former Aerocrete Co. Opened in 1939, it accommodated working refugees until it was closed in August 1941 (c. 1939–1941).

Fig. 12: Seward Road camp opened in 1942. It could shelter 1000 refugees and operated the central kitchen, which served daily meals to some 8000 refugees (c. 1942–1945).

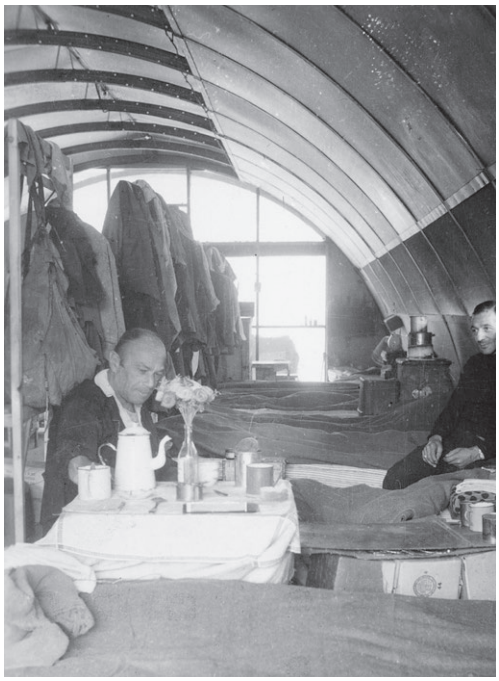

Fig. 13: Many refugees in Seward Road camp lived in Quonset huts; families were assigned small rooms (c. 1942–1945).

Fig. 14: Ward Road camp, a former school building, opened in January 1939. It provided room for about 1000 refugees and ran the central kitchen until 1942, serving three daily meals to thousands of refugees not living in refugee camps; photographer: Arthur Rothstein (c. 1939–1945).

Fig. 15: Beth Aharon Synagogue on Museum Road was inaugurated in 1927. The building was demolished in 1985 (c. 1928).

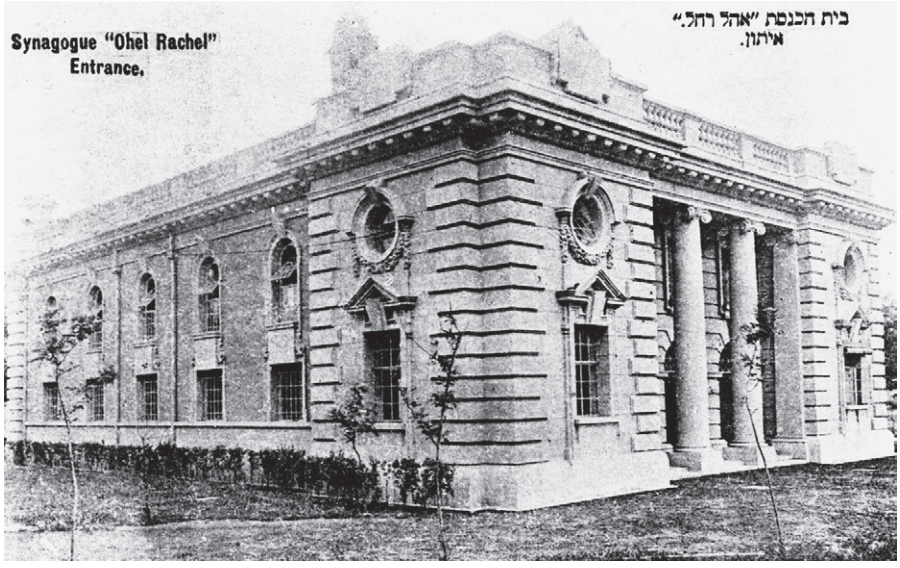

Fig. 16: Ohel Rachel Synagogue on Seymour Road opened in 1921. Today it houses the Shanghai Jewish Museum (undated).

Fig. 17: A multi-purpose room in a refugee camp used as a synagogue (c. 1939–1945).

Fig. 18: Students and teachers of the exiled Mir Yeshivah studying in Beth Aharon Synagogue. In the front row, first from the left: Rabbi Chezkel Lewensztejn; from the right: Rabbi J. D. Epstein, secretary, Rabbi Chaim L. Szmuelowicz, acting dean (1941).

Fig. 19: The Emigrants' Hospital on Whashing Road opened in January 1939. Previously, it had served briefly as a refugee camp. The hospital provided beds for 60 to 70 adults and 3 children (c. 1939–1945).

Fig. 20: Ward Road Hospital started operating on the premises of Ward Road camp in early 1940 (c. 1940–1945).

Fig. 21: The Maternity Ward was located in Ward Road camp, it opened in 1940 (c. 1940–1945).

Fig. 22: The SJYA School (Kadoorie School) was inaugurated in 1939. First located at 100 Kinchow Road adjacent to the refugee camp, it was moved to 627 East Yuhang Road in 1942 (c. 1939–1942).

Fig. 23: Lucie Hartwich, the principal of the SJYA School and a teacher of maths and French (undated).

Fig. 24: The Shanghai Jewish School began operating in 1903. In 1932, it relocated to a new building on Seymour Road next to the Ohel Rachel Synagogue (1930s).

Fig. 25: The IC Nursery and Children's Home on 494 Tongshan Road was opened in April 1941; it offered day care for children ageing from two to six (c. 1941–1945).

Fig. 26: Point Road Cemetery was inaugurated in November 1941 by the Jüdische Gemeinde after Columbia Road Cemetery turned out too small (c. 1941–1945).

Fig. 27: Entrance of Columbia Road Cemetery, established by the Jüdische Gemeinde in 1940 (c. 1949–1945).

Fig. 28: Market stalls on Yuhang Road. On the right: Gerda Schwerin from Berlin, the then girlfriend of the photographer Horst Eisfelder (undated).

Fig. 29: Jewish refugees walking down Tongshan Road; photographer: Eric Goldstaub (c. 1945).

Fig. 30: German store signs on Chusan Road, the main road of Hongkou (1939).

Fig. 31: The Embankment Building was completed in 1932 as the biggest apartment and office building in Shanghai at that time. The owner, Sir Victor Sassoon, offered a floor to be used as a reception center for some 350 Jewish refugees and for the CAEJR office from 1938 to 1939 (1935).

Fig. 32: The Cathay Hotel opened in 1929 and was one of Sir Victor Sassoon's first real estate projects. Sassoon allocated several rooms for the IC (1929).

Fig. 33: The Viennese restaurant and bar Café Barcelona was located on Avenue Roi Albert in the French Concession until 1943, and thereafter on Chusan Road. The owners, Viktor Tausig and Hugo Fried, sponsored a Jewish soccer team, which took on the café's name (1940–1941).

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